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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM THE

BIRTH OF CHRIST, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY,

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF

CHURCH POWER,

ARE CONSIDERED IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF

Learning and Philosophy,

AND THE

POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE

LEARNED, JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

And Chancellor of the University of Gottingen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES
AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN INDEX.

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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

CONTINUED.

SECTION II.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

1. **W**E have already seen^a the calamities and vexations the lutheran church suffered from the persecuting spirit of the Roman pontiffs, and the intemperate zeal of the house of Austria, which, on many occasions, showed too great a propensity to second their ambitious and despotic measures ; we shall therefore, at present, confine our view to the losses it sustained from other quarters. The cause of lutheranism suffered considerably by the desertion of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, a prince of uncommon genius and learning, who not only embraced the doctrine and discipline of the *reformed* church,^b but also, in the year 1604, removed the lutheran professors from their places in the university of Marpurg, and the doctors of that communion from the churches they had in his dominions. Maurice, after taking this vigorous step, on account of the obstinacy with which the lutheran clergy opposed his design, took particular care to have his subjects instructed in the doctrine of the Helvetic church, and introduced into the Hessian churches the form of public

The lutheran church loses ground in some places. The Hessians embrace calvinism.

^a In the *History of the Romish Church*. See above.

^b The reader must always remember, that the writers of the continent generally use the denomination of *reformed* in a limited sense, to distinguish the church of England and the calvinistical churches from those of the lutheran persuasion.

worship that was observed at Geneva. This plan was not executed without some difficulty; but it acquired a complete degree of stability and consistence in the year 1619, when deputies were sent by this prince to the synod of Dort, in Holland, with express orders to consent, in the name of the Hessian churches, to all the acts that should be passed in that assembly. The doctors of the reformed church, who lived at this period, defended strenuously the measures followed by Maurice, and maintained, that in all these transactions he observed the strictest principles of equity, and discovered an uncommon spirit of moderation. Perhaps the doctors of modern days may view this matter in a different point of light. They will acknowledge, perhaps, without hesitation, that if this illustrious prince had been more influenced by the sentiments of the wisest of the reformed doctors, concerning the conduct we ought to observe toward those who differ from us in religious matters, and less by his own will and humour, he would have ordered many things otherwise than he actually did.^c

ii. The example of the landgrave of Hesse was followed, in the year 1614, by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who also renounced lutheranism and embraced the communion of the *reformed* churches, though with certain restrictions, and without employing any acts of mere authority to engage his subjects in the same measure. For it is observable, that this prince did not adopt all the peculiar doctrines of calvinism. He introduced indeed into his dominions the form of public worship that was established at Geneva; and he embraced the sentiments of the reformed churches concerning the person of Christ, and the manner in which *he is present* in the eucharist, as they appeared to him much more conformable to reason and scripture than the doctrine of the lutherans relating to these points. But, on the other hand, he refused to admit the calvinistical doctrine of *divine grace*, and *absolute decrees*; and, on this account, neither sent deputies to the synod of Dort, nor adopted the deci-

The new reformation takes place in Brandenburg.

^c The reader will find a more ample account of this matter in the controversial writings of the divines of Cassel and Dermstadt, published at Cassel, Marburg, and Giessen, in the years 1632, 1636, 1647; and of which Salig speaks largely in his *Hist. Aug. Confess.* tom. i. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 756. Those who understand the German language may also consult Garth's *Historischer Bericht von dem Religions Wesen in Fürstenthum Hessen*, 1706, in 4to. Cyprian's *Unterricht von Kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 263, and *Appendix*, p. 101. As also the *Acts* published in the *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, A. 1749, p. 25.

sions of that famous assembly on these intricate subjects. This way of thinking was so exactly followed by the successors of Sigismund, that they never would allow the opinion of Calvin, concerning the *divine decrees*, to be considered as the public and received doctrine of the reformed churches in their dominions. It must be particularly mentioned, to the honour of this wise prince, that he granted to his subjects an entire liberty in religious matters, and left it to their unrestrained and free choice, whether they would remain in the profession of lutheranism, or follow the example of their sovereign ; nor did he exclude from civil honours and employments, or from the usual marks of his protection and favour, those who continued in the faith of their ancestors. This lenity and moderation, which seemed so adapted to prevent jealousy and envy, and to satisfy both parties, did not however produce this natural and salutary effect ; nor were they sufficient to restrain within the bounds of decency and charity, several warm and inconsiderate votaries of lutheranism. These over zealous persons, who breathed the violent spirit of an age, in which matters of consequence were usually carried on with vehemence and rigour, looked upon it as intolerable and highly provoking, that the lutherans and calvinists should enjoy the same honours and prerogatives ; that all injurious terms and odious comparisons should be banished from religious debates ; that the controverted points in theology should either be entirely omitted in the sermons and public discourses of the clergy, or explained with a spirit of modesty and christian charity ; that certain rites which displeased the calvinists should be totally abolished ; and that they who differed in opinions, should be obliged to live in peace, concord, and the mutual exchange of good offices. If it was unreasonable in them to be offended at injunctions of this nature, it was still more so to discover their indignation, in a manner that excited not only sharp and uncharitable debates, but also civil commotions and violent tumults, that disturbed considerably the tranquillity of the state, and nourished a spirit of sedition and revolt, which the labour of years was employed to extinguish in vain. In this troubled state of things, the divines of Saxony, and more especially those of Wittemberg, undertook to defend the lutheran cause ; but if it be acknowledged, on the one hand, that their views were good, and their intentions up-

right; it must be owned, on the other, that their style was keen even to a degree of licentiousness, and their zeal warm beyond all measure. And indeed, as it generally happens, their want of moderation hurt, instead of promoting, the cause in which they had embarked; for it was in consequence of their violent proceedings, that the *Form of Concord* was suppressed in the territories of Brandenburg, and the subjects of that electorate prohibited, by a solemn edict, from studying divinity in the academy of Wittenburg.^d

III. It was deplorable to see two churches, which had discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and fortitude, in throwing off the despotic yoke of Rome, divided among themselves, and living in discords that were highly detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well being of society. Hence several eminent divines and leading men, both among the Lutherans and Calvinists, sought anxiously after some method of uniting the two churches, though divided in their opinions, in the bonds of Christian charity and ecclesiastical communion. A competent knowledge of human nature and human passions was sufficient to persuade these wise and pacific mediators, that a perfect uniformity in religious opinions was not practicable, and that it would be entirely extravagant to imagine that any of these communities could ever be brought to embrace universally, and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. They made it therefore their principal business to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy, that the points in debate between the two churches were not essential to true religion; that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were received and professed in both

Attempts
made toward
a union be-
tween the Lu-
theran and
reformed
churches.

^d The edicts of Sigismund and his successors, relating to this change in the state of religion in Brandenburg, have been several times republished in one collection. Beside these, there are many books, treatises, and pamphlets, which give an account of this remarkable transaction, and of which the reader will find a complete list in the German work, entitled, *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, An. 1745, p. 34, A. 1746, p. 326, compared with Jo. Carol. Kocher's *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 312. The reader who desires to attain to a perfect acquaintance with this controversy, and to be able to weigh the merits of the cause, by having a true state of the case before him, will do well to consult Arnoldi, *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii lib. xvii. c. vii. p. 965. Cyprian's 'Unterricht von der Vereinigung der Protestant,' p. 75, and in 'Append. Monum.' p. 225. 'Unschuldigen Nachrichten,' A. 1729, p. 1067, and A. 1732, p. 715. They who affirm that the elector's ultimate end, in changing the face of religion in his dominions, was not the prospect of augmenting and extending his authority, found their opinion rather on conjecture than on demonstration; nor do they confirm this assertion by testimonies that are sufficient to bring full conviction. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their conjectures have neither an absurd nor an improbable aspect.

communions; and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to render mankind wiser nor better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in no wise concerned. Those who viewed things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowledge, that the diversity of opinions between the two churches was by no means a sufficient reason for their separation; and that of consequence they were called, by the dictates of that gospel which they both professed, to live not only in the mutual exercise of christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of church communion. The greatest part of the *reformed* doctors seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the lutherans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious tendency: and that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; and thus on their side an important step was made toward peace and union between the two churches. But the greatest part of the lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the reformed churches; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all surprising, that this steadiness and constancy of the lutherans was branded by the opposite party with the epithets of morose obstinacy, supercilious arrogance, and such like odious denominations. The lutherans were not behind hand with their adversaries in acrimony of style; they recriminated with vehemence, and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, different in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them with having dealt disingenuously by disguising, under ambiguous expressions, the real doctrine of the reformed churches; they observed further, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between the two churches arose from views of private interest, rather than from a zeal for the public good.

IV. Among the public transactions relative to the project of a union between the *reformed* and *lutheran* churches, we must not omit mentioning the attempt made by James I. king of Great Britain to accomplish this salutary purpose, in the year 1615. The person employed for this end by the British monarch, was Peter du Moulin, the most eminent among the protestant doctors in France ;^c but this design was neither carried on with *spirit*, nor attended with success.^f Another attempt of the same pacific nature was made in the year 1631, in the synod of Charenton, in which an act was passed by the reformed doctors of that respectable assembly, declaring the lutheran system of religion conformable with the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. By this act, a fair opportunity was offered to the lutherans of joining with the reformed church upon honourable terms, and of entering into the bonds both of civil and religious communion with their calvinistical brethren.^g But this candid and charitable proceeding was attended with very little fruit, since few of the lutherans were disposed to embrace the occasion that was here so freely offered them, of terminating the dissensions that separated the two churches. The same year a conference was held at Leipsic between the Saxon doctors, Hoc, Lyser, and Hopfner, on the one side, and some of the most eminent divines of Hesse Cassel and Brandenburg, on the other ; to the end that, by exposing with fidelity and precision their respective doctrines, it might be more easily seen what the real obstacles were that stood in the way of the union projected between the two churches. This conference was conducted with decency and moderation, and the deliberations were neither disturbed by intemperate zeal, nor by a proud spirit of contention and dispute ; but that openness of heart, that mutual trust and confidence, which are so essential to the success of all kinds of pacification, were wanting here. For though the doctors of the reformed party exposed, with the utmost precision

Declaration of
the synod of
Charenton.

^c See La Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* tom. ii. p. ii. p. 21.

^f King James, who would have abandoned the most important and noble design, at any time, to discuss a point of grammar or theology, or to gain a point of interest for himself or his minions, neglected this union of the lutheran and reformed churches, which he had begun to promote with such an appearance of piety and zeal.

^g Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. ii. p. 544. Aymon, *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees, de France*, tom. ii. p. 500. Ittigii *Dissert. de Synodi Carletoniensis indulgentia erga Lutheranos*, Lips. 1705, 4to.

and fairness, the tenets of their church, and made moreover many concessions, which the lutherans themselves could scarcely expect; yet the latter, suspicious and fearful, and always apprehensive of schemes, formed by artifice under the mask of candour, to betray and ensnare them, did not dare to acknowledge, that they were satisfied with these explications and offers; and thus the conference broke up without having contributed in any respect to promote the salutary work of peace.^b To form a true idea of these pacific deliberations, of the reasons that gave rise to them, and of the principles by which they were conducted, it will be necessary to study the civil history of this interesting period with attention and care.

v. Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, formed a still more extensive plan of religious union than those hitherto mentioned; he proposed a reconciliation, not only between the reformed and lutheran churches, but also between these two communions and that of Rome. For this purpose, he ordered a conference to be held at Thorn, in the year 1645, the issue of which, as might naturally have been expected, was far from being favourable to the projected union; for the persons employed by the three churches to heal their divisions, or at least to calm their animosities, returned from this conference with a greater measure of party zeal, and a smaller portion of christian charity, than they had brought to it.

The conferences at Thorn and Cassel.

The conference held at Cassel in the year 1661, by the order of William VI. landgrave of Hesse, between Musæus and Henichius, professors at Rintelen, on the side of the lutherans, and Curtius and Heinsius, of the university of Marpurg, on that of the reformed, was attended with much more success; and, if it did not bring about a perfect uniformity of opinion, it produced what was much better, a spirit of christian charity and forbearance. For these candid doctors, after having diligently examined the nature, and weighed the importance of the controversies that divided the two churches, embraced each other with reciprocal marks of affection and esteem, and mutually declared that their respective doctrines were less different

^b Tinanni Cassellii *Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica*, p. ii. in addendis, p. 597—613, in which the *Acts* of this conference are published. Jo. Wolff. Jaegeri *Historia sæculi* xvii. Decenn. iv. p. 497. This testimony of Dr. Mosheim, who was himself a theuran, is singularly honourable to the reformed doctors.

from each other than was generally imagined ; and that this difference was not of sufficient moment to prevent their fraternal union and concord. But it happened unluckily, that these moderate doctors of Rintelen could not infuse the same spirit of peace and charity that animated *them*, into their lutheran brethren, nor persuade them to view the difference of opinion, that divided the protestant churches, in the same indulgent point of light in which they had considered them in the conference at Cassel. On the contrary, this their moderation drew upon them the hatred of almost all the lutherans ; and they were loaded with bitter reproaches in a multitude of pamphlets,ⁱ that were composed expressly to refute their sentiments, and to censure their conduct. The pains that were taken after this period by the princes of the house of Brandenburg, and more especially by Frederic William, and his son Frederic, in order to compose the dissensions and animosity that divide the protestants, and particularly to promote a fraternal union between the reformed and lutheran churches in the Prussian territories, and in the rest of their dominions, are well known ; and it is also equally notorious, that innumerable difficulties were formed against the execution of this salutary design.

vi. Beside these public conferences, held by the authority of princes, in order to promote union and concord among protestants, a multitude of individuals, animated by a spirit of true christian charity, embarked in this pious cause on their own private authority, and offered their mediation and good offices to reconcile the two churches. It is true indeed that these peacemakers were, generally speaking, of the reformed church ; and that those among the lutherans, who appeared in this amiable character, were but few, in comparison with the great number of calvinists that favoured this benevolent but arduous design. The most eminent of the calvinistical peacemakers was John Dureus, a native of Scotland, and a man justly celebrated on account

The pacific
exploits of
John Dureus.

ⁱ The writers who have given accounts of the conferences of Thorn and Cassel are enumerated by Sagittarius, in his *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1604. See also Jaegeri *Historia Saeculi xvii. Decenn.* v. p. 689, and *Decenn.* vii. p. 160, where the *Acta* of the conferences of Cassel and Thorn are extant. Add to these, Jo. Alphons. Turretini *Nubes Testium pro moderato in rebus Theologicis judicio*, p. 178. There is an ample account of the conference of Cassel in the life of Musæus given by Mollerus in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 566. The reader will find in the same work, an accurate *Index* of the *Accounts* of this conference published on both sides.

of his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning; but, at the same time, more remarkable for genius and memory, than for nicety of discernment and accuracy of judgment, as might be evinced by several proofs and testimonies, were this the proper place for discussions of that nature. Be that as it will, never perhaps was there such an example of zeal and perseverance as that exhibited by Dureus, who, during the space of forty years,^k suffered vexations, and underwent labours, which required the firmest resolution, and the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed; in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest, to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the protestant churches. For it was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence and zeal engaged him to undertake; his activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he travelled through all the countries in Europe where the protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connexions with the doctors of both parties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively and striking colours, the utility and importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them more or less in this good cause, or at least to derive some succour from their influence and protection. But here his views were considerably disappointed; for though his undertaking was generally applauded, and though he met with a favourable and civil reception from the greatest part of those to whom he addressed himself, yet he found very few who were seriously disposed to alleviate his labours, by lending him their assistance, and seconding his attempts by their influence and counsels. Nay, some suspecting that the fervent and extraordinary zeal of Dureus arose from mysterious and sinister motives, and apprehending that he had secretly formed a design of drawing the lutherans into a snare, attacked him in their writings with animosity and bitterness, and loaded him with the sharpest invectives and reproaches. So that this well meaning man, neglected at length by those of his own communion, opposed and rejected by the followers of Luther, involved in various perplexities and

^k From the year 1631 to 1674.

distress, exhausted by unsuccessful labour, and oppressed and dejected by injurious treatment, perceived, by a painful experience, that he had undertaken a task which was beyond the power of a private person, and spent the remainder of his days in repose and obscurity at Cassel.¹

It may not be improper to observe here, that Dureus, who, notwithstanding the uprightness of his intentions in general, was sometimes deficient in frankness and ingenuity, had annexed to his plan of reconciliation certain doctrines, which, were they susceptible of proof, would serve as a foundation for the union, not only of the lutherans and calvinists, but also of all the different sects that bear the christian name. For, among other things, he maintained, that the *Apostle's Creed* was a complete body of divinity; the *Ten Commandments* a perfect system of morals; and the *Lord's Prayer* a comprehensive series of petitions for all the blessings contained in the divine promises. Now if this notion, that these sacred compositions contain all that is essential to faith, obedience, and devotion, had been universally entertained, or evidently demonstrated, it would not have been a chimerical project to aim at a reconciliation of all christian churches upon this basis, and to render these compositions the foundation of their coalition and the bond of their union. But it would have been highly chimerical to expect that the christian sects would universally adopt this notion, or be pleased to see the doctrines of Christianity reduced to such general principles. It is further to be observed, with respect to Dureus, that he showed a peculiar propensity toward the sentiments of the mystics and quakers, on account of their tendency to fa-

¹ See Coleri *Historia Joh. Duræi*, published in 4to. at Wittenberg in 1716, to which however many important additions might be made from public records, and also from documents that have not as yet seen the light. Some records and documents, of the kind here referred to, have been published by Hasæus, in his *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico Philologica*, tom. i. p. 911, and tom. iv. p. 683. A still greater number are given by Gesselius, in the *Addenda Ienica*, that are subjoined to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 614. The transactions of Duræus at Marburg are mentioned by Schenk, in his *Vita Professorum Theologie Marburg*, p. 202. His attempts in Holstein may be learned from the letters of Lackman and Lossius, which are joined together in the same volume. His exploits in Prussia and Poland are recorded by Jablonsky, in his *Historia Consensus Sandomiriensis*, p. 127, and his labours in Denmark, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, are mentioned respectively by Elswich, in his *Fasciculus Epistol. Theolog.* p. 147. Seelen's *Delicie Epistol.* p. 353, and in the *Museum Helvet.* tom. iii. iv. v. See also Jaegeri *Historia Sæculi xvii. Decenn. vii.* p. 171. Bolanius, *Englische Reformations Historie*, and more especially an account of Duræus, published under my direction at Helmstadt, in the year 1744, by Benzelius, and entitled, *Dissertatio de Johan. Duræo, maxime de Actis ejus Succæis*. This Dissertation contains a variety of anecdotes drawn from records not yet made public.

your his conciliatory and pacific project. Like them he placed the essence of religion in the *ascent* of the soul to God, in calling forth the *hidden word*, in fanning the *divine spark* that resides in the recesses of the human mind, and, in consequence of this system, was intimately persuaded, that differences, merely in theological opinions, did not at all concern the essence of true piety.

VII. Those among the lutherans that appeared the most zealous in this pacific cause, were John Matthiæ,^m Matthiæ and Calixtus. bishop of Strengnes in Sweden, and George Calixtus, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, whom Dureus had animated with a portion of his charitable and indulgent spirit. The former was a man of capacity and merit, the latter was eminently distinguished among the doctors of this century, by his learning, genius, probity, and candour; but they both failed in the arduous undertaking in which they had engaged, and suffered considerably in their attempts to promote the cause of unity and concord. The *Olive Branches*ⁿ of Matthiæ, who entitled thus his pacific productions, were, by a royal edict, publicly condemned and suppressed in Sweden; and their author, in order to appease the fury of his enemies, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and pass the rest of his days in retirement.^o The zeal of Calixtus, in calming the tumultuous and violent spirit of the contending parties, drew upon him the bitterest reproaches, and the warmest animosity and resentment from those who were more bent on maintaining their peculiar opinions, than in promoting that charity which is the end of the commandment; and while he was labouring to remove all sects and divisions, he appeared to many of his brethren in the light of a new sectary, who was founding the most pernicious of all sects, even that of the *syncretists*, who were supposed to promote peace and concord at the expense of truth. We shall, before we finish this chapter, endeavour to give a more particular and circumstantial account of the sentiments and trials of this great man, to whose charge many other things were laid,

[^m Matthiæ had been chaplain to Gus'tavus Adolphus, and was afterward appointed, by that prince, preceptor to his daughter Christina, so famous in history, on account of the whimsical peculiarities of her character, her taste for learning, and her desertion of the Swedish throne, and the protestant religion.

ⁿ *Rami Olive Septentrionalis.*

^o See Schefferi *Suecia Litterata*, p. 123, and Joh. Molleri ad eam *Hypomnemata*, p. 317. Arkenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 320, 505, tom. ii. p. 63.

beside the *crime* of endeavouring to unite the disciples of the same master in the amiable bonds of charity, concord, and mutual forbearance ; and whose opinions and designs excited warm contests in the lutheran church.

VIII. The external state of the lutheran church at this period was attended with various circumstances of prosperity, among which we may reckon its standing firm against the assaults of Rome, whose artifice and violence were in vain employed to bring on its destruction. It is well known, that a very considerable number of lutherans resided in those provinces where the public exercise of their religion was prohibited. It has more especially been shown, by the late memorable emigration of the Saltzburgers,^v that still greater numbers of them lay concealed in that land of despotism and bigotry, where the smallest dissent from popery, with whatever secrecy and circumspection it may be disguised, is considered as an enormous and capital crime ; and that they preserved their religious sentiments and doctrines pure and uncorrupted amidst the contagion of Romish superstition, which they always beheld with aversion and horror. In those countries which are inhabited by persons of different communions, and whose sovereigns are members of the Romish church, we have numberless instances of the cruelty and injustice practised by the papists against those that dissent from them ; and these cruelties are exercised under a pretext suggested by the most malevolent bigotry, which represents these dissenters as seditious subjects, and consequently as worthy of the most rigorous treatment. And yet it is certain, that, amidst all these vexations, the lutheran church has stood its ground ; nor has either the craft or fury of its enemies been able, any where, to deprive it entirely of its rights and privileges. It may further be observed, that the doctrine of Luther was carried into Asia, Africa, and America, by several persons, who fixed their habitations in those distant regions, and was also introduced into some parts of Europe, where it had hitherto been unknown.

^v For an account of the persecuted lutherans in the archbishopric of Saltzbourg, see Burnet's Travels. See more especially a famous Latin discourse, published at Tubingen, in the year 1732, under the following title ; *Commentariolus Theologicus de non tolerandis in Religione Dissidentibus, quam Præside Christ, Matth. Pfaffio defendit* Wolf. Lud. Jetsching.

ix. When we turn our view to the internal state of the lutheran church during this century, we shall find it improved in various respects; though several blemishes yet remained that clouded its lustre. It must be acknowledged, to the honour of the lutherans, that they cultivated all the various branches of literature, both sacred and profane, with uncommon industry and success, and made several improvements in the sciences, which are too well known to stand in need of a particular mention; and of which a circumstantial enumeration would be inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this history. But if it cannot be denied, on the one hand, that the cause of religion gained by these improvements in learning, it must be owned on the other, that some branches of science were perverted by injudicious or ill designing men, to corrupt the pure simplicity of genuine Christianity, and to render its doctrines abstruse and intricate. Thus it too often happens in life, that the best things are the most egregiously abused.

The progress of learning among the lutherans.

About the commencement of this century, the sciences chiefly cultivated in the schools were logic and metaphysics; though the manner of treating them was almost entirely destitute of elegance, simplicity, and precision. But, in process of time, the scene changed in the seminaries of learning; and the more entertaining and agreeable branches of literature, that polish wit, excite taste, exercise judgment, and enrich memory, such as civil and natural history, philology, antiquities, criticism, and eloquence, gained the ascendant. Both these kinds of knowledge acquired also a more graceful, consistent, and regular form than that under which they had hitherto appeared. But it happened most unluckily, that while the boundaries of science were extended from day to day, and new discoveries and improvements were constantly enriching the republic of letters, the credit of learning began sensibly to decrease, and learned men seemed gradually to lose those peculiar marks of veneration and distinction that the novelty of their character, as well as the excellence and importance of their labours, had hitherto drawn from the public. Among the various circumstances that contributed to this decline of literary glory, we may particularly reckon the multitude of those, who, without natural capacity, taste, or inclination, were led, by authority or a desire of applause, to li-

terary pursuits ; and by their ignorance or their pedantry, cast a reproach upon the republic of letters.

x. The only kind of philosophy that was taught in the lutheran schools, during the greatest part of this century, was that of Aristotle, dressed up in that scholastic form that increased its native intricacy and subtilty. And such was the devout and excessive veneration entertained by many for this abstruse system, that any attempt to reject the Grecian oracle, or to correct its decisions, was looked upon as the most dangerous consequence to the interests of the church, and as equally criminal with a like attempt upon the sacred writings. Those who distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner by their zealous and invincible attachment to the peripatetic philosophy, were the divines of Leipsic, Tubingen, Helmstadt, and Altorf. The enchantment however was not universal ; and there were many who, withdrawing their private judgment from the yoke of authority, were bold enough to see with their own eyes ; and of consequence discerned the blemishes that were indeed sufficiently visible in the pretended wisdom of the Grecian sage. The first attempt to reduce his authority within narrow bounds was made by certain pious and prudent divines, who, though they did not pretend to discourage all philosophical inquiries, yet were desirous of confining them to a few select subjects ; and complained, that the pompous denomination of philosophy was too frequently prostituted,^a by being applied to unintelligible distinctions, and words, or rather sounds, destitute of sense. These were succeeded in their dislike of the peripatetic philosophy by the disciples of Ramus, who had credit enough to banish it from several seminaries of learning, and to substitute in its place the system of their master, which was of a more practical kind, and better adapted to the purposes of life.^r But if the philosophy of Aristotle met with adversaries who opposed it upon solid and rational principles, it had also enemies of a very different character, who imprudently declaimed against philosophy in general, as highly detrimental to the cause of religion and the interests of society.

^a Such, among others, was Wenceslas Schillingius, of whom a particular account is given by Arnold, in his *Histor. Eccles. et. Havet* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi.

^r See Jo. Herman ab Elswick, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna*, § xxi. p. 54, and Walchius, *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. ii. sect. iii. § v. in *Parergis ejus Academicis*, p. 613.

Such was the fanatical extravagance of Daniel Hoffman, professor at Helmstadt, who discovered, in this controversy, an equal degree of ignorance and animosity ; and such also were the followers of Robert Fludd, Jacob Behmen, and the rosecrucians, who boasted of having struck out, by the assistance of *fire* and *divine illumination*, a new, wonderful, and celestial system of philosophy, of which mention has been already made.^s These adversaries of the Stagirite were divided among themselves, and this diminished the strength and vigour of their opposition to the common enemy. But had they been ever so closely united in their sentiments and measures, they would not have been able to overturn the empire of Aristotle, which was deeply rooted in the schools through long possession, and had a powerful support in the multitude of its votaries and defenders.

x1. The peripatetic system had still more formidable adversaries to encounter in Des Cartes and Gassendi, whose writings were composed with that perspicuity and precision that rendered them singularly agreeable to many of the lutheran doctors of this century, and made them look with contempt on that obsolete and barren philosophy of the schools, which was expressed in uncouth terms and barbarous phrases, without taste, elegance, or accuracy. The votaries of Aristotle beheld with envy these new philosophers, used their most zealous endeavours to bring them into discredit, and, for this purpose, represented their researches and principles as highly detrimental to the interests of religion and the growth of true piety. But when they found, by experience, that these methods of attack proved unsuccessful, they changed their manner of proceeding, and, like a prudent general, who, besieged by a superior force, abandons his outworks and retires into the citadel, they relinquished much of their jargon, and defended only the main and essential principles of their system. To render these principles more palatable, they began to adorn them with the graces of elocution, and to mingle with their philosophical tenets the charms of polite literature. They even went so far as to confess that Aristotle, though the prince of philosophers, was chargeable with errors and defects, which it was both lawful and

The freedom
of philosophi-
cal inquiry
gains ground.

^s See above, in the *General History of the Church*, § xxxi.

expedient to correct. But these concessions only served to render their adversaries more confident and enterprising, since they were interpreted as resulting from a consciousness of their weakness, and were looked upon as a manifest acknowledgment of their defeat. In consequence of this, the enemies of the Stagirite renewed their attacks with redoubled impetuosity, and with a full assurance of victory; nor did they confine them to those branches of the peripatetic philosophy which were allowed by its votaries to stand in need of correction, but levelled them, without distinction, at the whole system, and aimed at nothing less than its total dissolution. Grotius indeed, who marched at the head of these philosophical reformers, proceeded with a certain degree of prudence and moderation. Puffendorf, in treating of the law of nature and of the duties of morality, threw off, with more boldness and freedom, the peripatetic yoke; and pursued a method entirely different from that which had been hitherto observed in the schools. This freedom drew upon him a multitude of enemies, who loaded him with the bitterest reproaches; his example was nevertheless followed by Thomasius, professor of law in the academy at Leipsic, and afterward at Hall, who attacked the peripatetics with new degrees of vehemence and zeal. This eminent man, though honourably distinguished by the excellence of his genius and the strength of his resolution, was not perhaps the properest person that could be pitched upon to manage the interests of philosophy. His views nevertheless were vast; he aimed at the reformation of philosophy in general, and of the peripatetic system in particular; and he assiduously employed both the power of exhortation and the influence of example, in order to persuade the Saxons to reject the aristotelian system, which he had never read, and which most certainly he did not understand. The scheme of philosophy that he substituted in its place, was received with little applause, and soon sunk into oblivion; but his attempt to overturn the system of the peripatetics, and to restore the freedom of philosophical inquiry, was attended with remarkable success, made, in a little time, the most rapid progress, and produced such admirable effects, that Thomasius is justly looked upon, to this day, as the chief of those bold spirits who pulled down philosophical tyranny from its throne in Germany, and gave a mortal blow to what

was called the *sectarian philosophy*,^t in that country. The first seminary of learning that adopted the measures of Thomasius was that of Hall in Saxony, where he was professor; they were afterward followed by the rest of the German schools, by some sooner, and by others later; and from thence a spirit of philosophical liberty began to spread itself into other countries, where the lutheran religion was established. So that, toward the conclusion of this century, the lutherans enjoyed a perfect liberty of conducting their philosophical researches in the manner they judged the most conformable with truth and reason, of departing from the mere dictates of authority in matters of science, and of proposing publicly every one his respective opinions. This liberty was not the consequence of any positive decree of the state, nor was it inculcated by any law of the church; it seemed to result from that invisible disposal of things, which we call accident, and certainly proceeded from the efforts of a few great men, seconding and exciting that natural propensity toward free inquiry, that can never be totally extinguished in the human mind. Many employed this liberty in extracting, after the manner of the ancient *eclectics*, what they thought most conformable to reason, and most susceptible of demonstration, from the productions of the different schools, and connecting these extracts in such a manner as to constitute a complete body of philosophy. But some made a yet more noble use of this inestimable privilege, by employing, with indefatigable zeal and industry, their *own* faculties in the investigation of truth, and building upon solid and unchangeable principles a new and sublime system of philosophy. At the head of these we may place Leibnitz, whose genius and labours have deservedly rendered his name immortal.^u

In this conflict between the reformers of philosophy and the votaries of Aristotle, the latter lost ground from day to day, and his system, in consequence of the extremes that reformers often fall into, grew so disgusting and odious, that condemnation was passed on every part of it. Hence the science of *metaphysics*, which the Grecian sage had

^t By the *sectarian philosophers* were meant, those who followed implicitly some one of the ancient philosophical sects, without daring to use the dictates of their private judgment, to correct or modify the doctrines or expressions of these hoary guides.

^u The curious reader will find an accurate and ample account of this revolution in philosophy, in the learned Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophia*.

considered as the master science, as the original fountain of all true philosophy, was spoiled of its honours, and fell into contempt ; nor was the authority and influence even of Des Cartes, who also set out, in his inquiries, upon metaphysical principles, sufficient to support it against the prejudices of the times. However, when the first heat of opposition began to cool, and the rage of party to subside, this degraded science was not only recalled from its exile, by the interposition and credit of Leibnitz, but was also reinstated in its former dignity and lustre.

xii. The defects and vices of the lutheran clergy have been circumstantially exposed, and even exaggerated by many writers, who seem to require in the ministers of the gospel a degree of perfection, which ought indeed always to be aimed at, but which no wise observer of human nature can ever hope to see generally reduced to practice. These censurers represent the leading men of the lutheran church as arrogant, contentious, despotic, and uncharitable ; as destitute of christian simplicity and candour ; fond of quibbling and dispute ; judging of all things by the narrow spirit of party ; and treating with the utmost antipathy and aversion those that differ from them ever so little in religious matters. The less considerable among the lutheran doctors were charged with ignorance, with a neglect of the sacred duties of their station, and with a want of talent in their character as public teachers. And the whole body were accused of avarice, laziness, want of piety, and corruption of manners.

It will be acknowledged, without difficulty, by those who have studied with attention and impartiality the genius, manners, and history of this century, that the lutheran clergy are not wholly irreproachable with respect to the matters that are here laid to their charge, and that many lutheran churches were under the direction of pastors who were highly deficient, some in zeal, others in abilities, many in both, and consequently ill qualified for propagating the truths of Christianity with wisdom and success. But this reproach is not peculiarly applicable to the seventeenth century ; it is a general charge, that, with too much truth, may be brought against all the ages of the church. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, by all such as are not blinded by ignorance or partiality, that the whole of the lutheran clergy did not consist of these unworthy pas-

The virtues
and defects of
the lutheran
doctors.

tors, and that many of the lutheran doctors of this century were distinguished by their learning, piety, gravity, and wisdom. Nay, perhaps it might be difficult to decide, whether in our times, in which some pretend that the sanctity of the primitive doctors is revived in several places, there be not as many that do little honour to the pastoral character as in the times of our ancestors. It must further be observed, that many of the defects which are invidiously charged upon the doctors of this age, were in a great measure owing to the infelicity of the times. They were the unhappy effects of those public calamities which a dreadful war, of thirty years duration, produced in Germany; they derived strength from the influence of a corrupt education, and were sometimes encouraged by the protection and countenance of vicious and profligate magistrates.

XIII. That the vices of the lutheran clergy were partly owing to the infelicity of the times, will appear evident from some particular instances. It must be acknowledged, that during the greatest part of this century, neither the discourses of the pulpit nor the instructions of the schools were adapted to promote among the people, just ideas of religion, or to give them a competent knowledge of the doctrines and precepts of the gospel. The eloquence of the pulpit, as some ludicrously and too justly represent it, was reduced, in many places, to the noisy art of bawling, during a certain space of time measured by a sand glass, upon various points of theology, which the orators understood but very little, and which the people did not understand at all; and when the important doctrines and precepts of Christianity were introduced in these public discourses, they were frequently disfigured by tawdry and puerile ornaments, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the divine wisdom that shines forth in the gospel, and were thus, in a great measure, deprived of their native beauty, efficacy, and power. All this must be confessed; but perhaps it may not appear surprising, when all things are duly considered. The ministers of the gospel had their heads full of sonorous and empty words, of trivial distinctions and metaphysical subtilties, and very ill furnished with that kind of knowledge that is adapted to touch the heart and to reform the life; they had also few models of true elo-

The vices of the lutheran clergy partly owing to the times in which they lived.

quence before their eyes ; and therefore it is not much to be wondered, if they dressed out their discourses with foreign and tasteless ornaments.

The charge brought against the universities, that they spent more time in subtle and contentious controversy, than in explaining the holy scriptures, teaching the duties of morality, and promoting a spirit of piety and virtue, though too just, yet may also be alleviated by considering the nature and circumstances of the times. The lutherans were surrounded with a multitude of adversaries, who obliged them to be perpetually in a posture of defence ; and the Roman catholics, who threatened their destruction, contributed, in a more particular manner, to excite in their doctors that polemic spirit, which unfortunately became a habit, and had an unhappy influence on the exercise both of their academical and pastoral functions. In time of war, the military art not only becomes singularly respectable, but is preferred, without hesitation, before all others, on account of its tendency to maintain the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence ; and thus, in the midst of theological commotions, the spirit of controversy, by becoming necessary, gains an ascendant, which, even when the danger is over, it is unwilling to lose. It were indeed ardently to be wished, that the lutherans had treated with more mildness and charity those who differed from them in religious opinions, and had discovered more indulgence and forbearance toward such, more especially, as by ignorance, fanaticism, or excessive curiosity, were led into error, without pretending nevertheless to disturb the public tranquillity by propagating their particular systems. But they had unhappily imbibed a spirit of persecution in their early education ; this was too much the spirit of the times, and it was even a leading maxim with our ancestors, that it was both lawful and expedient to use severity and force against those whom they looked upon as heretics. This maxim was derived from Rome ; and even those who separated from that church did not find it easy to throw off, all of a sudden, that despotic and uncharitable spirit that had so long been the main spring of its government, and the general characteristic of its members. Nay, in their narrow views of things, their very piety seemed to suppress the generous movements of fraternal love and forbearance ; and the more they felt themselves animated with a zeal for the di-

vine glory, the more difficult did they find it to renounce that ancient and favourite maxim, which had so often been ill interpreted and ill applied, that *whoever is found to be an enemy to God, ought also to be declared an enemy to his country.*^w

XIV. There were few or no changes introduced, during this century, into the form of government, the method of worship, and the external rites and ceremonies of the lutheran church. Many alterations would indeed have been made in all these, had the princes and states of that communion judged it expedient to put in execution the plans that had been laid by Thomasius, and other eminent men, for reforming its ecclesiastical polity. These plans were built upon a new principle, which supposed, that the majesty and supreme authority of the sovereign was the only source of church power. On this fundamental principle, which these great men took all imaginable pains to prove, by solid and striking arguments, they raised a voluminous system of laws, which, in the judgment of many, evidently tended to this conclusion; that the same sovereign who presides in the state ought to rule in the church; that prince and pontiff are inseparable characters; and that the ministers of the gospel are not the ambassadors of the Deity, but the deputies or vicegerents of the civil magistrate. These reformers of lutheranism did not stop here; they reduced within narrower bounds the few privileges and advantages that the clergy yet retained, and treated many of the rites, institutions, and customs of our church, as the remains of popish superstition. Hence an abundant source of contention was opened, and a long and tedious controversy was carried on with warmth and animosity between the clergy and civilians. We leave others to determine with what views these debates were commenced and fomented, and with what success they were respectively carried on by the contending parties. We shall only observe, that their effects and consequences were unhappy, as in many places they proved, in the issue, detrimental to the reputation of the clergy, to the dignity

The ecclesiastical laws and polity of the lutherans.

^w It were to be wished that the lutherans had not, in many places, persevered in these severe and despotic principles longer than other protestant churches. Until this very day, the Lutherans of Francfort on the Maine have always refused to permit the *reformed* to celebrate public worship within the bounds, or even in the suburbs of that city. Many attempts have been made to conquer their obstinacy in this respect, but hitherto without success.

and authority of religion, and to the peace and prosperity of the lutheran church.^x The present state of that church verifies too plainly this observation. It is now its fate to see few entering into its public service, who are adapted to restore the reputation it has lost, or to maintain that which it yet retains. Those who are distinguished by illustrious birth, uncommon genius, and a liberal and ingenuous turn of mind, look upon the study of theology which had so little external honours and advantages to recommend it, as below their ambition; and hence the number of wise, learned, and eminent ministers grows less considerable from day to day. This circumstance is deeply lamented by those among us who consider with attention the dangerous and declining state of the lutheran church; and it is to be feared, that our descendants will have reason to lament it still more bitterly.

xv. The eminent writers that adorned the lutheran church through the course of this century, were many in number. We shall only mention those whom it is most necessary for a student of ecclesiastical history to be more particularly acquainted with; such are Ægidius and Nicholas Hunnius; Leonard Hutter; Joseph and John Ernesti Gerhard; George and Frederic Ulric Calixtus; the Mentzers; the Oleariuses; Frederic Baldwin; Albert Grawer; Matthias Hoe; the Carpzoviuses; John and Paul Tarnovius; John Affelman; Eilhart Lubber; the Lysers; Michael Walther; Joachim Hildebrand; John Valentine Andreas; Solomon Glassius; Abraham Calovius; Theodore Hacksplan; John Hulseman; Jacob Weller; Peter and John Mausæus, brothers; John Conrad Danhaver; John George Dorschæus; John Arndt; Martin Geyer; John Adam Shartzler; Balthazar and John Meisner; Augustus Pfeiffer; Henry and John Muller; Justus Christopher Schomer; Sebastian Schmidt; Christopher Horsholt; the Osianders; Philip Jacob Spener; Geb. Theodore Meyer; Fridem. Bechman, and others.^y

^x It has been the ill hap even of well designing men to fall into pernicious extremes, in the controversies relating to the foundation, power, and privileges of the church. Too few have steered the middle way, and laid their plans with such equity and wisdom as to maintain the sovereignty and authority of the *state*, without reducing the *church* to a mere creature of civil policy. The reader will find a most interesting view of this nice and important subject, in the learned and ingenious bishop of Gloucester's *Alliance between Church and State*, and in his *Dedication* of the second volume of his *Divine Legation of Moses*, to my lord Mansfield.

^y For an account of the lives and writings of these authors, see Witte's *Memoria*

XVI. The doctrine of the lutheran church remained entire during this century; its fundamental principles received no alteration, nor could any doctor of that church, who should have presumed to renounce or invalidate any of those theological points that are contained in the *symbolical books* of the lutherans, have met with toleration and indulgence. It is however to be observed, that, in later times, various circumstances contributed to diminish, in many places, the authority of these *symbolical* oracles, which had so long been considered as an almost infallible rule of faith and practice. Hence arose that unbounded liberty which is at this day enjoyed by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers, of dissenting from the decisions of these *symbols* or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the manner they judge the most expedient. The case was very different in former times; whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines of the church, or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the higher powers, to give an account of his conduct, and very rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. But the teachers of novel doctrines had nothing to apprehend, when, toward the conclusion of this century, the lutheran churches adopted that leading maxim of the Armenians, that *christians were accountable to God alone for their religious sentiments; and that no individual could be justly punished by the magistrate for his erroneous opinions, while he conducted himself like a virtuous and obedient subject, and made no attempts to disturb the peace and order of civil society*. It were to be wished, that this religious liberty, which the dictates of equity must approve, but of which the virtuous mind alone can make a wise and proper use, had never degenerated into that unbridled licentiousness that holds nothing sacred, but with an audacious insolence tramples under foot the solemn truths of religion, and is constantly endeavouring to throw contempt upon the respectable profession of its ministers.

An historical view of the religious doctrine of the lutheraus.

XVII. The various branches of sacred erudition were cultivated with uninterrupted zeal and assiduity

Sacred philol.

Theologorum, and his *Diarium Biographicum*; as also Pippingius, Goesius, and other writers of literary history.

ogy cultivated
among the lu-
therans.

among the lutherans, who, at no period of time, were without able commentators, and learned and faithful guides for the interpretation of the holy scriptures. It is natural to mention here Tarnovius, Gerhard, Hackspan, Calixtus, Erasmus, Schmidt, to whom might be added a numerous list of learned and judicious expositors of the sacred oracles. But what appears more peculiarly worthy of observation is, that the very period which some look upon as the most barren of learned productions, and the most remarkable for a general inattention to the branch of erudition now under consideration, produced that inestimable and immortal work of Solomon Glassius, which he published under the title of *Sacred Philology*, and than which none can be more useful for the interpretation of scripture, as it throws an uncommon degree of light upon the language and phraseology of the inspired writers. It must, at the same time, be candidly acknowledged, that a considerable part of this century was more employed, by the professors of the different universities, in defending, with subtilty and art, the peculiar doctrines of the lutheran church, than in illustrating and explaining the holy scripture, which is the only genuine source of divine truth. Whatever was worthy of censure in this manner of proceeding, was abundantly repaired by the more modern divines of the lutheran communion; for no sooner did the rage of controversy begin to subside, than the greatest part of them turned their principal studies toward the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings; and they were particularly animated in the execution of this laborious task, by observing the indefatigable industry of those among the Dutch divines, who, in their interpretations of scripture, followed the sentiments and method of Cocceius. At the head of these modern commentators we may place, with justice, Sebastian Schmidt, who was at least the most laborious and voluminous expositor of this age. After this learned writer, may be ranked Calovius, Geier, Schomer, and others of inferior note.^z The contests excited by the persons called *pictists*, though unhappy in several respects, were nevertheless attended with this good effect, that they engaged many to apply themselves to the study of the holy scriptures, which they had too much neglected

^z See J. Franc. Budæi *Isagoge in Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686

before that period, and to the perusal of the commentators and interpreters of the sacred oracles. These commentators pursued various methods, and were unequal both in their merit and success. Some confined themselves to the signification of the words of scripture, and the literal sense that belonged to the phrases of the inspired writers; others applied their expositions of scripture to the decision of controverted points, and attacked their adversaries, either by refuting their false interpretations of scripture, or by making use of their own commentaries to overturn their doctrines; a third sort, after unfolding the sense of scripture, applied it carefully to the purposes of life and the direction of practice. We might mention another class of interpreters, who, by an assiduous perusal of the writings of the cocceians, are said to have injudiciously acquired their defects, as appears by their turning the sacred history into allegory, and seeking rather the more remote and mysterious sense of scripture, than its obvious and literal signification.

xviii. The principal doctors of this century followed, at first, the loose method of deducing their theological doctrine from scripture under a few general heads. This method had been observed in ancient times by Melancthon, and was vulgarly called *common-place* divinity. They however made use of the principles, terms, and subtile distinctions of the peripatetic philosophy, which was yet in high reputation, in explaining and illustrating each particular doctrine. The first person that reduced theology into a regular system, and gave it a truly scientific and philosophical form, was George Calixtus, a man of great genius and erudition, who had imbibed the spirit of the aristotelian school. His design, in general, was not so much censured, as the particular method he followed, and the form he gave to his theological system; for he divided the whole science of divinity into three parts, viz. the *end*, the *subject*, the *means*; and this division, which was borrowed from Aristotle, appeared extremely improper to many. This philosophical method of ranging the truths of Christianity was followed, with remarkable zeal and emulation, by the most eminent doctors in the different schools of learning, and even in our times it has its votaries. Some indeed had the courage to depart from it, and to exhibit the doctrines of religion under a different, though still under a scientific form; but

The didactic theology; or articles of faith adopted by the Lutherans.

they had few followers, and struggled in vain against the empire of Aristotle, who reigned with a despotic authority in the schools.

There were however many pious and good men, who beheld, with great displeasure, this irruption of metaphysics into the sphere of theology, and never could be brought to relish this philosophical method of teaching the doctrines of Christianity. They earnestly desired to see divine truth freed from captious questions and subtilties, delivered from the shackles of an imperious system, and exhibited with that beautiful simplicity, perspicuity, and evidence, in which it appears in the sacred writings. Persons of this turn had their wishes and expectations in some measure answered, when, toward the conclusion of this century, the learned Spenser and others, animated by his exhortations and example, began to inculcate the truths and precepts of religion in a more plain and popular manner, and when the eclectics had succeeded so far as to dethrone Aristotle, and to banish his philosophy from the greatest part of the lutheran schools. Spenser was not so far successful as to render universal his popular method of teaching theology; it was nevertheless adopted by a considerable number of doctors: and it cannot be denied, that since this period, the science of divinity, delivered from the jargon of the schools, has assumed a more liberal and graceful aspect. The same observation may be applied to controversial productions; it is certain that polemics were totally destitute of elegance and perspicuity so long as Aristotle reigned in the seminaries of learning, and that they were more or less embellished and improved since the suppression and disgrace of the peripatetic philosophy. It is however to be lamented, that controversy did not lose, at this period, all the circumstances that had so justly rendered it displeasing; and that the defects, that had given such offence in the theological disputants of all parties, were far from being entirely removed. These defects still subsist, though perhaps in a less shocking degree; and whether we peruse the polemic writers of ancient or modern times, we shall find too few among them who may be said to be animated by the pure love of truth, without any mixture of pride, passion, or partiality, and whom we may pronounce free from the illusions of prejudice and self love.

xix. The science of morals, which must ever be esteemed the *master science*, from its immediate influence upon life and manners, was, for a long time, neglected among the lutherans. If we except a few eminent men, such as Arndt and Gerhard, who composed some popular treatises concerning the internal worship of the Deity, and the duties of christians, there did not appear, during the greater part of this century, any moral writer of distinguished merit. Hence it happened, that those who applied themselves to the business of resolving what are called *cases of conscience*, were held in high esteem, and their tribunals were much frequented. But as the true principles and foundations of morality were not, as yet, established with a sufficient degree of precision and evidence, their decisions were often erroneous, and they were liable to fall into daily mistakes. Calixtus was the first who separated the objects of faith from the duties of morality, and exhibited the latter under the form of an independent science. He did not indeed live to finish this work, the beginning of which met with universal applause; his disciples however employed, with some degree of success, the instructions they had received from their master, in executing his plan, and composing a system of *moral theology*. This system, in process of time, fell into discredit, on account of the peripatetic form under which it appeared; for, notwithstanding the striking repugnance that there is, in the very nature of things, between the beautiful science of morals and the perplexing intricacies of metaphysics, Calixtus could not abstain from the latter in building his moral system. The moderns however stripped morality of the peripatetic garment, calling to their assistance the law of nature, which had been explained and illustrated by Puffendorf and other authors, and comparing this law with the sacred writings, they not only discovered the true springs of christian virtue, and entered into the true spirit and sense of the divine laws, but also digested the whole science of morals into a better order, and demonstrated its principles with a new and superior degree of evidence.

The state of
moral science
among the
lutheran.

xx. These improvements in theology and morality did not diffuse such a spirit of concord in the lutheran church, as was sufficient to heal ancient divisions, or to prevent new ones. That church, on the con-

Contentions
and contests
in the lutheran
church.

trary, was involved in the most lamentable commotions and tumults, during the whole course of this century, partly by the controversies that arose among its most eminent doctors, and partly by the intemperate zeal of violent reformers, the fanatical predictions of pretended prophets, and the rash measures of innovators, who studiously spread among the people, new, singular, and, for the most part, extravagant opinions. The controversies that divided the lutheran doctors may be ranged under two classes, according to their different importance and extent, as some of them involved the whole church in tumult and discord, while others were less universal in their pernicious effects. Of the former class there were two controversies, that gave abundant exercise to the polemic talents of the lutheran doctors during the greatest part of this century; and these turned upon the religious systems that are generally known under the denominations of *syncretism* and *pietism*. Nothing could be more amiable than the principles that gave rise to the former, and nothing more respectable and praiseworthy than the design that was proposed by the latter. The *syncretists*,^a animated with that fraternal love and pacific spirit, which Jesus Christ had so often recommended as the peculiar characteristics of his true disciples, used their warmest endeavours to promote union and concord among christians; and the *pietists* had undoubtedly in view the restoration and advancement of that holiness and virtue, that had suffered so much by the influence of licentious manners on the one hand, and by the turbulent spirit of controversy on the other. These two great and amiable virtues, that gave rise to the projects and efforts of the two orders of persons now mentioned, were combated by a third, even a zeal for maintaining the truth, and preserving it from all mixture of error. Thus the love of truth was unhappily found to stand in opposition to the love of union, piety, and concord; and thus, in this present critical and corrupt state of human nature, the unruly and turbulent passions of men can, by an egregious abuse, draw the worst consequences from the best things, and render the most excellent principles and views productive of confusion, calamity, and discord.

^a The *syncretists* were also called *calixtines*, from their chief, George Calixtus; and *helmstadians*, from the university where their plan of doctrine and union took its rise.

XXI. The origin of *syncretism* was owing to George Calixtus of Sleswick, a man of eminent and distinguished abilities and merit, and who had few equals in this century, either in point of learning or genius. This great man being placed in a university,^b which, from the very time of its foundation, had been remarkable for encouraging freedom of inquiry, improved this happy privilege, examined the respective doctrines of the various sects that bear the christian name, and found, in the notions commonly received among divines, some things defective and erroneous. He accordingly gave early intimations of his dissatisfaction with the state of theology, and lamented, in a more particular manner, the divisions and factions that reigned among the servants and disciples of the same great master. He therefore turned his views to the salutary work of softening the animosities produced by these divisions, and showed the warmest desire, not so much of establishing a perfect harmony and concord between the jarring sects, which no human power seemed capable of effecting, as of extinguishing the hatred, and appeasing the resentment, which the contending parties discovered too much in their conduct toward each other. His colleagues did not seem at all averse to this pacific project ; and the surprise that this their silence or acquiescence must naturally excite, in such as are acquainted with the theological spirit of the seventeenth century, will be diminished, when it is considered, that the professors of divinity at Helmstadt bind themselves, at their admission, by an oath, to use their best and most zealous endeavours to heal the divisions, and terminate the contests that prevail among christians. Neither Calixtus however nor his friends, escaped the opposition that it was natural to expect in the execution of such an unpopular and comprehensive project. They were warmly attacked, in the year 1639, by Statius Buscherus, a Hanoverian ecclesiastic, a bigoted votary of Ramus, a declared enemy to all philosophy, and a man of great temerity and imprudence. This man, exasperated at the preference Calixtus and his companions had given to the peripatetic philosophy over the principles of the *ramists*, composed a very malignant book,

The rise of the
syncretistical
or calixtine
controversies.

^b The university of Helmstadt, in the dutchy of Brunswick, founded in the year 1576

entitled, *Crypto Papismus novæ Theologicæ Helmstadiensis*,^c in which Calixtus was charged with a long list of errors. Though this production made some small impression on the minds of certain persons, it is nevertheless probable, that Buscher would have almost universally passed for a partial, malicious, and rash accuser, had his invectives and complaints rendered Calixtus more cautious and prudent. But the upright and generous heart of this eminent man, which disdained dissimulation to a degree that bordered upon the extreme of imprudence, excited him to speak with the utmost frankness his private sentiments, and thus to give a certain measure of plausibility to the accusations of his adversary. Both he and his colleague Conrad Horneius maintained, with boldness and perseverance, several propositions, which appeared, to many others beside Buscher, new, singular, and of a dangerous tendency; and Calixtus more especially, by the freedom and plainness with which he declared and defended his sentiments, drew upon him the resentment and indignation of the Saxon doctors, who, in the year 1645, were present at the conference of Thorn. He had been chosen by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, as colleague and assistant to the divines he sent from Königsberg to these conferences; the Saxon deputies were greatly incensed to see a lutheran ecclesiastic in the character of an assistant to a deputation of reformed doctors. This first cause of offence was followed by other incidents, in the course of these conferences, which increased the resentment of the Saxons against Calixtus, and made them accuse him of leaning to the side of the reformed churches. We cannot enter here into a circumstantial account of this matter, which would lead us from our main design. We shall only observe, that when these conferences broke up, the Saxon doctors, and more especially Halseman, Weller, Scharfius, and Calovius, turned the whole force of their polemic weapons against Calixtus; and, in their public writings, reproached him with apostacy from the principles of lutheranism, and with a propensity toward the sentiments both of the reformed and Romish churches. This great man did not receive tamely the insults of his adversaries. His consummate knowledge of the philosophy that reigned in the schools, and his

^c i. e. *Papery disguised under the mask of the new theological system of Helmstadt.*

perfect acquaintance with the history of the church, rendered him an able disputant; and accordingly he repelled, with the greatest vigour, the attacks of his enemies, and carried on, with uncommon spirit and erudition, this important controversy, until the year 1656, when death put an end to his labours, and transported him from these scenes of dissension and tumult into the regions of peace and concord.^d

XXII. Neither the death of Calixtus, nor the decease of his principal adversaries, were sufficient to extinguish the flame they had kindled; on the contrary, the contest was carried on, after that period, with more animosity and violence than ever. The Saxon doctors, and more especially Calovius, insulted the ashes, and attacked the memory of this great man with unexampled bitterness and malignity; and, in the judgment of many eminent and worthy doctors, who were by no means the partisans of Calixtus, conducted themselves with such imprudence and temerity, as were every way adapted to produce an open schism in the lutheran church. They drew up a new kind of creed, or confession of the lutheran faith,^e which they proposed to place in the class of what the members of our communion call their *symbolical books*, and which, of consequence, all professors of divinity and all candidates for the ministry would be obliged to subscribe, as containing the true and genuine doctrine of the lutheran church. By this new production of intemperate zeal, the friends and followers of Calixtus were declared unworthy of the communion of that church; and were accordingly supposed to have forfeited all right to

The continuation and issue of these debates.

^d Those who desire to be more minutely acquainted with the particular circumstances of this famous controversy, the titles and characters of the books published on that occasion, and the doctrines that produced such warm contests, and such deplorable divisions, will do well to consult Walchius, Carolus, Weisman, Arnold, and other writers; but above all, the third volume of the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, p. 121, in which there is an ample account of the life, transactions, and writings of Calixtus. But, if any reader should push his curiosity still further, and be solicitous to know the more secret springs that acted in this whole affair, the remote causes of the events and transactions relating to it, the spirit, views, and characters of the disputants, the arguments used on both sides; in a word, those things that are principally interesting and worthy of attention in controversies of this kind, he will find no history that will satisfy him fully in these respects. A history that would throw a proper light upon these important matters, must be composed by a man of great candour and abilities; by one who knows the world, has studied human nature, is furnished with materials and documents that lie as yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, and is not unacquainted with the spirit that reigns, and the cabals that are carried on in the courts of princes. But were such a historian to be found, I question very much, whether, even in our times, he could publish without danger all the circumstances of this memorable contest.

^e The title of this new creed was *Consensus repetiti Fidei veræ Lutheranæ*.

the privileges and tranquillity that were granted to the Lutherans by the laws of the empire. The reputation of Calixtus found nevertheless some able defenders, who pleaded his cause with modesty and candour; such were Titius, Hildebrand, and other ecclesiastics, who were distinguished from the multitude by their charity, moderation, and prudence. These good men showed, with the utmost evidence, that the new creed, mentioned above, would be a perpetual source of contention and discord, and would thus have a fatal effect upon the true interests of the Lutheran church; but their counsels were overruled, and their admonitions neglected. Among the writers who opposed this creed, was Frederic Ulric Calixtus, who was not destitute of abilities, though much inferior to his father in learning, genius, and moderation. Of those that stood forth in its vindication and defence, the most considerable were Calovius and Strauchius. The polemic productions of these contending parties were multiplied from day to day, and yet remain as deplorable monuments of the intemperate zeal of the champions on both sides of the question. The invectives, reproaches, and calumnies, with which these productions were filled, showed too plainly that many of these writers, instead of being animated with the love of truth, and a zeal for religion, were rather actuated by a keen spirit of party, and by the suggestions of vindictive pride and vanity. These contests were of long duration; they were however at length suspended, toward the close of this century, by the death of those who had been the principal actors in this scene of theological discord, by the abolition of the creed that had produced it, by the rise of the new debates of a different nature, and by other circumstances of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention.

xxiii. It will be proper to give here some account of the accusations that were brought against Calixtus by his adversaries. The principal charge, was, his having formed a project, not of uniting into one ecclesiastical body, as some have understood it, the Romish, Lutheran, and reformed churches, but of extinguishing the hatred and animosity that reigned among the members of these different communions, and joining them in the bonds of charity, mutual benevolence, and forbearance. This is the project, which was at first condemned, and is still known

The opinions
of Calixtus.

under the denomination of *syncretism*.^f Several singular opinions were also laid to the charge of this great man, and were exaggerated and blackened, as the most innocent things generally are when they pass through the *medium* of malignity and party spirit. Such were his notions concerning the *obscure manner* in which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation; the appearances of the Son of God during that period; the *necessity* of good works to the attainment of everlasting salvation; and God's being *occasionally*^g the

^f It is neither my design nor my inclination to adopt the cause of Calixtus; nor do I pretend to maintain, that his writings and his doctrines are exempt from error. But the love of truth obliges me to observe, that it has been the ill hap of this eminent man to fall into the hands of bad interpreters; and that even those who imagine they have been more successful than others in investigating his true sentiments, have most grievously misunderstood them. Calixtus is commonly supposed to have formed the plan of a *formal reconciliation* of the protestants with the church of Rome and its pontiffs; but this notion is entirely groundless, since he publicly and expressly declared, that the protestants could by no means enter into the bonds of concord and communion with the Romish church, as it was constituted at this time; and that, if there had ever existed any prospect of healing the divisions that reigned between it and the protestant churches, this prospect had entirely vanished since the council of Trent, whose violent proceedings and tyrannical decrees had rendered the union, now under consideration, absolutely impossible. He is further charged with having either approved or excused the greatest part of those errors and superstitions, that are looked upon as a dishonour to the church of Rome; but this charge is abundantly refuted, not only by the various treatises, in which he exposed the falsehood and absurdity of the doctrines and opinions of that church, but also by the declarations of the Roman catholics themselves, who acknowledge that Calixtus attacked them with much more learning and ingenuity than had been discovered by any other protestant writer.* It is true, he maintained that the lutherans and Roman catholics did not differ about the *fundamental doctrines* of the christian faith; and it were to be wished, that he had never asserted any such thing, or at least, that he had expressed his meaning in more proper and inoffensive terms. It must however be considered, that he always looked upon the popes and their votaries, as having *adulterated* these fundamental doctrines with an impure mixture or addition of many opinions and tenets, which no wise and good christian could adopt; and this consideration diminishes a good deal the extravagance of an assertion, which otherwise would deserve the severest censure. We shall not enter further into a view of the imputations that were cast upon Calixtus, by persons more disposed to listen to his accusers, than to those who endeavour, with candour and impartiality, to represent his sentiments and his measures in their true point of view. But if it should be asked here, what this man's real design was; we answer, that he laid down the following maxims; first, "That if it were possible to bring back the church of Rome to the state in which it was during the first five centuries, the protestants would be no longer justified in rejecting its communion. Secondly, that the modern members of the Romish church, though polluted with many intolerable errors, were not all equally criminal; and that such of them, more especially, as sincerely believed the doctrines they had learned from their parents or masters, and by ignorance, education, or the power of habit, were hindered from perceiving the truth, were not to be excluded from salvation, nor deemed heretics; provided they gave their assent to the doctrines contained in the Apostle's Creed, and endeavoured seriously to govern their lives by the precepts of the gospel." I do not pretend to defend these maxims, which seem however to have many patrons in our times; I would only observe, that the doctrine they contain is much less intolerable than that which was commonly imputed to Calixtus.

^g *Per accidens*.

* Bossuet, in his *Traite de la Communion sous les deux Especes*, p. 1. § ii. p. 12, speaks thus of the eminent man now under consideration. *Le fameux George Calixte, le plus habile des Lutheriens de notre tems, qui a écrit le plus doctement contre nous, &c.*

author of sin. These notions, in the esteem of many of the best judges of theological matters, have been always looked upon as of an indifferent nature, as opinions which, even were they false, do not affect the great and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But the two great principles that Calixtus laid down as the foundation and groundwork of all his reconciling and pacific plans, gave much more offence than the plans themselves, and drew upon him the indignation and resentment of many. Those principles were ; first, That “the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,” by which he meant those elementary principles from whence all its truths flow, “were preserved pure and entire in all the three communions, and were contained in that ancient form of doctrine, that is vulgarly known by the name of the Apostle’s Creed.” And, secondly, That “the tenets and opinions, which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first five centuries, were to be considered as of equal truth and authority with the express declarations and doctrines of scripture.” The general plan of Calixtus was founded upon the *first* of these propositions ; and he made use of the *second* to give some degree of plausibility to certain Romish doctrines and institutions, which have been always rejected by the protestant church ; and to establish a happy concord between the various christian communions that had hitherto lived in the state of dissension and separation from each other.

xxiv. The divines of Rintelen, Koningsberg, and Jena, were more or less involved in these warm contests. Those of Rintelen, more especially Henichius and Musæus, had, on several occasions, and particularly at the conference of Cassel, shown plainly, that they approved of the plan of Calixtus for removing the unhappy discords and animosities that reigned among christians, and that they beheld with peculiar satisfaction that part of it that had for its object union and concord among the protestant churches. Hence they were opposed with great animosity by the Saxon doctors and their adherents, in various polemic productions.^b

The pacific spirit of Calixtus discovered itself also at Koningsberg. John Laterman, Michael Behmius, and the

^b See Abrab. Calovii *Historia Syncretistica*, p. 618. Jo. Georgii Walchii *Introduction in controversias Lutheran.* vol. i. p. 286.

learned Christopher Dryer, who had been the disciples of that great man, were at little pains to conceal their attachment to the sentiments of their master. By this discovery, they drew upon them the resentment of their colleagues John Behmius and Celestine Mislenta, who were seconded by the whole body of the clergy of Königsberg; and thus a warm controversy arose, which was carried on, during many years, in such a manner as did very little honour to either of the contending parties. The interposition of the civil magistrate, together with the decease of Behmius and Mislenta, put an end to this intestine war, which was succeeded by a new contest of long duration between Dryer and his associates on the one side, and several foreign divines on the other, who considered the system of Calixtus as highly pernicious, and looked upon its defenders as the enemies of the church. This new controversy was managed, on both sides, with as little equity and moderation as those which preceded it.ⁱ

xxv. It must at the same time be acknowledged, to the immortal honour of the divines of Jena, that they discovered the most consummate prudence, and ^{and those of Jena.} the most amiable moderation in the midst of these theological debates. For though they confessed ingenuously, that the sentiments of Calixtus were not of such a nature, as that they could be all adopted without exception, yet they maintained, that the greatest part of his tenets were much less pernicious than the Saxon doctors had represented them; and that several of them were innocent, and might be freely admitted without any danger to the cause of truth. Solomon Glassius, an ecclesiastic, renowned for the mildness of his temper, and the equity of his proceedings, examined with the utmost candour and impartiality the opposite sentiments of the doctors, that were engaged in this important controversy, and published the result of this examination, by the express order of Ernest, prince of Saxe Gotha, surnamed the *Pious*.^k Musæus, a man of superior learning and exquisite penetration and judgment,

ⁱ See Christopher Hartknoch's *Church History of Prussia*, written in German, book ii. chap. x. p. 602. Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 150. See also the *Acts and Documents* contained in the famous collection, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1740, p. 144. A. 1742, p. 29. A. 1745, p. 91.

^k This piece, which was written in German, did not appear in public till after the death of Glassius, in the year 1662; a second edition of it was published in 8vo. at Jena some years ago. The piece exhibits a rare and shining instance of theological moderation; and is worthy of a serious and attentive perusal.

adopted so far the sentiments of Calixtus, as to maintain, that *good works* might, in a certain sense, be considered as *necessary to salvation*; and that of the erroneous doctrines imputed to this eminent man, several were of little or no importance. It is very probable, that the followers of Calixtus would have willingly submitted this whole controversy to the arbitration of such candid and impartial judges. But this laudable moderation offended so highly the Saxon doctors, that they began to suspect the academy of Jena of several erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus, in a particular manner, as a person who had, in many respects, apostatized from the true and orthodox faith.¹

xxvi. These debates were suppressed and succeeded by new commotions that arose in the church, and are commonly known under the denomination of the *pietistical controversy*. This controversy was owing to the zeal of a certain set of persons, who, no doubt, with pious and upright intentions, endeavoured to stem the torrent of vice and corruption, and to reform the licentious manners both of the clergy and the people. But, as the best things may be abused, so this reforming spirit inflamed persons that were but ill qualified to exert it with wisdom and success. Many, deluded by the suggestions of an irregular imagination, and an ill informed understanding, or, guided by principles and views of a still more criminal nature, spread abroad new and singular opinions, false visions, unintelligible maxims, austere precepts, and imprudent clamours against the discipline of the church; all which excited the most dreadful tumults, and kindled the flames of contention and discord. The commencement of *pietism* was indeed laudable and decent. It was set on foot by the pious and learned Spener, who, by the private societies he formed at Francfort, with a design to promote vital religion, roused the lukewarm from their indifference, and excited a spirit of vigour and resolution in those who had been satisfied to lament, in silence, the progress of impiety. The remarkable effect of these pious meetings was increased by a book published by this well meaning man, under the title of *Pious Desires*, in which he exhibited a

¹ For an account of the imputations cast upon the divines of Jena, and more especially on Musæus, see a judicious and solid work of the latter, entitled, *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung*, &c. See also Jo. Georgii Walchii *Introductio in Controversias Ecclesiæ Lutherane*, vol. i. p. 405.

striking view of the disorders of the church, and proposed the remedies that were proper to heal them. Many persons of good and upright intentions were highly pleased both with the proceedings and writings of Spener, and indeed the greatest part of those who had the cause of virtue and practical religion truly at heart, applauded the designs of this good man, though an apprehension of abuses retained numbers from encouraging them openly. These abuses actually happened. The remedies proposed by Spener to heal the disorders of the church, fell into unskilful hands, were administered without sagacity or prudence, and thus, in many cases, proved to be worse than the disease itself. The religious meetings abovementioned, or the *colleges of piety*, as they were usually called by a phrase borrowed from the Dutch, tended in many places to kindle in the breasts of the multitude the flames of a blind and intemperate zeal, whose effects were impetuous and violent, instead of that pure and rational love of God, whose fruits are benign and peaceful. Hence complaints arose against these institutions of *pietism*, as if, under a striking appearance of sanctity, they led the people into false notions of religion, and fomented, in those who were of a turbulent and violent character, the seeds and principles of mutiny and sedition.

xxvii. These first complaints would have been undoubtedly hushed, and the tumults they occasioned would have subsided by degrees, had not the contests that arose at Leipsic, in the year 1689, added fuel to the flame. Certain pious and learned professors of philosophy, and particularly Franckius, Schadius, and Paulus Antonius, the disciples of Spener, who at that time was ecclesiastical superintendent of the court of Saxony, began to consider with attention the defects that prevailed in the ordinary method of instructing the candidates for the ministry; and this review persuaded them of the necessity of using their best endeavours to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss. For this purpose, they undertook to explain in their colleges certain books of holy scripture, in order to render these genuine sources of religious knowledge better understood, and to promote a spirit of practical piety and vital religion in the minds of their hearers. The novelty of this method drew attention, and rendered it singularly pleasing to many: ac-

The commo-
tions at Leip-
sic.

cordingly, these lectures were much frequented, and their effects were visible in the lives and conversations of several persons, whom they seemed to inspire with a deep sense of the importance of religion and virtue. Whether these first effusions of religious fervour, which were, in themselves, most certainly laudable, were always kept within the strict bounds of reason and discretion, is a question not easily decided. If we are to believe the report of common fame, and the testimonies of several persons of great weight, this was by no means the case; and many things were both said and done in these *biblical colleges*, as they were called, which, though they might be looked upon, by equitable and candid judges, as worthy of toleration and indulgence, were nevertheless contrary to custom, and far from being consistent with prudence. Hence rumours were spread, tumults excited, animosities kindled, and the matter at length brought to a public trial, in which the pious and learned men abovementioned were indeed declared free from the errors and heresies that had been laid to their charge, but were at the same time prohibited from carrying on the plan of religious instruction they had undertaken with such zeal. It was during these troubles and divisions that the invidious denominations of *pietists* was first invented; it may at least be affirmed, that it was not commonly known before this period. It was at first applied by some giddy and inconsiderate persons to those who frequented the *biblical colleges*, and lived in a manner suitable to the instructions and exhortations that were addressed to them in these seminaries of piety. It was afterward made use of to characterize all those who were either distinguished by the excessive austerity of their manners, or who, regardless of *truth* and *opinion*, were only intent upon *practice*, and turned the whole vigour of their efforts toward the attainment of religious feelings and habits. But as it is the fate of all those denominations by which peculiar sects are distinguished, to be variously and often very improperly applied, so the title of *pietists* was frequently given, in common conversation, to persons of eminent wisdom and sanctity, who were equally remarkable for their adherence to truth and their love of piety; and, not seldom, to persons whose motley characters exhibited an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm, and who deserved

the title of delirious fanatics better than any other denomination.

XXVIII. This contest was by no means confined to Leipsic, but diffused its contagion, with incredible celerity, through all the lutheran churches in the different states and kingdoms of Europe. For, from this time, in all the cities, towns, and villages, where lutheranism was professed, there started up, all of a sudden, persons of various ranks and professions, of both sexes, learned and illiterate, who declared, that they were called, by a *divine impulse*, to pull up iniquity by the root, to restore to its primitive lustre, and propagate through the world, the declining cause of piety and virtue, to govern the church of Christ by wiser rules than those by which it was at present directed, and who, partly in their writings, and partly in their private and public discourses, pointed out the means and measures that were necessary to bring about this important revolution. All those, who were struck with this imaginary *impulse*, unanimously agreed, that nothing could have a more powerful tendency to propagate among the multitude solid knowledge, pious feelings, and holy habits, than those private meetings that had been first contrived by Spener, and that were afterward introduced into Leipsic. Several religious-assemblies were accordingly formed in various places, which, though they differed in some circumstances, and were not all conducted and composed with equal wisdom, piety, and prudence, were however designed to promote the same general purpose. In the mean time, these unusual, irregular, and tumultuous proceedings filled, with uneasy and alarming apprehensions, both those who were intrusted with the government of the church, and those who sat at the helm of the state. These apprehensions were justified by this important consideration, that the pious and well meaning persons, who composed these assemblies, had indiscreetly admitted into their community a parcel of extravagant and hot headed fanatics, who foretold the approaching destruction of Babel, by which they meant the lutheran church, terrified the populace with fictitious visions, assumed the authority of prophets honoured with a divine commission, obscured the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon of their own invention, and revived doctrines that had long before been condemn-

The progress
of these de-
bates.

ed by the church. These enthusiasts also asserted, that the *millennium*, or thousand years reign of the saints on earth, mentioned by St. John, was near at hand. They endeavoured to overturn the wisest establishments, and to destroy the best institutions, and desired that the power of preaching and administering public instruction might be given promiscuously to all sorts of persons. Thus was the lutheran church torn asunder in the most deplorable manner, while the votaries of Rome stood by and beheld, with a secret satisfaction, these unhappy divisions. The most violent debates arose in all the lutheran churches; and persons, whose differences were occasioned rather by mere words and questions of little consequence, than by any doctrines or institutions of considerable importance, attacked one another with the bitterest animosity; and, in many countries, severe laws were at length enacted against the *pietists*.^m

XXIX. These revivers of piety were of two kinds, who, by their different manner of proceeding, deserve to be placed in two distinct classes. One sect of these practical reformers proposed to carry on their plan without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government that were established in the lutheran church. The other maintained, on the contrary, that it was impossible to promote the progress of real piety among the lutherans, without making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing the whole form of their ecclesiastical discipline and polity. The former had at their head the learned and pious Spener, who, in the year 1691, removed from Dresden to Berlin, and whose sentiments were adopted by the professors of the new academy at Hall; and particularly by Franck-

The debates
carried on
with Spener
and the di-
vines of Hall.

^m This whole matter is amply illustrated by the learned Jo. George Wachius in his *Introductio ad Controversias*, vol. ii. and iii. who exhibits, successively, the various scenes of this deplorable contest, with a view of the principal points that were controverted, and his judgment concerning each, and a particular account of the writers that displayed their talents on this occasion. It would indeed be difficult for any one man to give an ample and exact history of this contest, which was accompanied with so many incidental circumstances, and was, upon the whole, of such a tedious and complicated nature. It were therefore to be wished, that a society of prudent and impartial persons, furnished with a competent knowledge of human nature and political transactions, and also with proper materials, would set themselves to compose the history of *pietism*. If several persons were employed in collecting from public records, and also from papers that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, the events which happened in each country where this controversy reigned; and if these materials, thus carefully gathered on the spot, were put in the hands of a man capable of digesting the whole, this would produce a most interesting and useful history.

ius and Paulus Antonius, who had been invited thither from Leipsie, where they began to be suspected of *pietism*. Though few pretended to treat either with indignation or contempt the intentions and purpose of these good men, which indeed none could despise without affecting to appear the enemy of practical religion and virtue, yet many eminent divines, and more especially the professors and pastors of Wittemberg, were of opinion, that, in the execution of this laudable purpose, several maxims were adopted, and certain measures employed, that were prejudicial to the truth, and also detrimental to the interests of the church. Hence they looked on themselves as obliged to proceed publicly, first against Spener, in the year 1695, and afterward against his disciples and adherents, as the inventors and promoters of erroneous and dangerous opinions. These debates are of a recent date ; so that those who are desirous of knowing more particularly how far the principles of equity, moderation, and candour influenced the conduct and directed the proceedings of the contending parties, may easily receive a satisfactory information.

xxx. These debates turned upon a variety of points ; and therefore the matter of them cannot be comprehended under any one general head. If we consider them indeed in relation to their origin, and the circumstances that gave rise to them, we shall then be able to reduce them to some fixed principles. It is well known, that those who had the advancement of piety most zealously at heart, were possessed of a notion, that no order of men contributed more to retard its progress than the clergy, whose peculiar vocation it was to inculcate, and promote it. Looking upon this as the root of the evil, it was but natural that their plans of reformation should begin here ; and, accordingly, they laid it down as an essential principle, that none should be admitted into the ministry, but such as had received a proper education, were distinguished by their wisdom and sanctity of manners, and had hearts filled with *divine love*. Hence they proposed, in the *first place*, a thorough reformation of the schools of divinity ; and they explained clearly enough what they meant by this reformation, which consisted in the following points ; that the systematical theology, which reigned in the academies, and was composed of intricate and disputable doctrines, and obscure and unusual forms of expression, should

The subject of
these debates.

be totally abolished ; that polemical divinity, which comprehended the controversies subsisting between christians of different communions, should be less eagerly studied, and less frequently treated, though not entirely neglected ; that all mixture of philosophy and human learning with divine wisdom was to be most carefully avoided ; that, on the contrary, all those who were designed for the ministry, should be accustomed, from their early youth, to the perusal and study of the holy scriptures ; that they should be taught a plain system of theology, drawn from these unerring sources of truth ; and that the whole course of their education was to be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine and the commanding influence of their example. As these maxims were propagated with the greatest industry and zeal, and were explained inadvertently by some, without those restrictions which prudence seemed to require ; these professed patrons and revivers of piety were suspected of designs that could not but render them obnoxious to censure. They were supposed to despise philosophy and learning, to treat with indifference, and even to renounce, all inquiries into the nature and foundations of religious truth, to disapprove of the zeal and labours of those who defended it against such as either corrupted or opposed it, and to place the whole of *their* theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations concerning the duties of morality. Hence arose those famous disputes concerning the use of philosophy and the value of human learning, considered in connexion with the interests of religion ; the dignity and usefulness of *systematic* theology ; the necessity of polemic divinity ; the excellency of the mystic system ; and also concerning the true method of instructing the people.

The *second* great object that employed the zeal and attention of the persons now under consideration, was, that the candidates for the ministry should not only, for the future, receive such an academical education as would tend rather to solid utility than to mere speculation ; but also that they should *dedicate themselves to God* in a peculiar manner, and exhibit the most striking examples of piety and virtue. This maxim, which, when considered in itself, must be acknowledged to be highly laudable, not only gave occasion to several new regulations, designed to restrain the passions of the studious youth, to inspire them

with pious sentiments, and to excite in them holy resolutions; but also produced another maxim, which was a lasting source of controversy and debate, viz. "That no person, that was not himself a model of piety and divine love, was qualified to be a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in the way of salvation." This opinion was considered by many as derogatory from the power and efficacy of the word of God, which cannot be deprived of its divine influence by the vices of its ministers; and as a sort of revival of the long exploded errors of the donatists; and what rendered it peculiarly liable to an interpretation of this nature was, the imprudence of some pietists, who inculcated and explained it, without those restrictions that were necessary to render it unexceptionable. Hence arose endless and intricate debates concerning the following questions; "Whether the religious knowledge acquired by a wicked man can be termed theology;" "whether a vicious person can, in effect, attain to a true knowledge of religion;" "How far the office and ministry of an impious ecclesiastic can be pronounced salutary and efficacious;" "whether a licentious and ungodly man cannot be susceptible of illumination?" and other questions of a like nature.

xxxI. These revivers of declining piety went yet further. In order to render the ministry of their pastors as successful as possible, in rousing men from their indolence, and in stemming the torrent of corruption and immorality, they judged two things indispensably necessary. The *first* was, to suppress entirely, in the course of public instruction, and more especially in that delivered from the pulpit, certain maxims and phrases which the corruption of men leads them frequently to interpret in a manner favourable to the indulgence of their passions. Such, in the judgment of the pietists, were the following propositions; "no man is able to attain to that perfection which the divine law requires; good works are not necessary to salvation; in the act of justification, on the part of man, faith alone is concerned, without good works." Many however were apprehensive that, by the suppression of these propositions, truth itself must suffer deeply; and that the christian religion, deprived thus of its peculiar doctrines, would be exposed, naked and defenceless, to the attacks of its adversaries. The *second* step they took, in order to give efficacy

to their plans of reformation, was to form new rules of life and manners, much more rigorous and austere than those which had been formerly practised; and to place in the class of *sinful* and *unlawful* gratifications several kinds of pleasure and amusement, which had hitherto been looked upon as innocent in themselves, and which could only become *good* or *evil* in consequence of the respective characters of those who used them with prudence, or abused them with intemperance. Thus, dancing, pantomimes, public sports, theatrical diversions, the reading of humorous and comical books, with several other kinds of pleasure and entertainment, were prohibited by the pietists, as unlawful and unseemly; and therefore by no means of an indifferent nature. Many however thought this rule of moral discipline by far too rigid and severe; and thus was revived the ancient contests of the schoolmen, concerning the famous question, *whether any human actions are truly indifferent*, i. e. equally removed from moral good on the one hand, and from moral evil on the other; and *whether*, on the contrary, it be not true, that *all actions, whatever, must be either considered as good or as evil*. The discussion of this question was attended with a variety of debates upon the several points of the prohibition now mentioned; and these debates were often carried on with animosity and bitterness, and very rarely with that precision, temper, and judgment that the nicety of the matters in dispute required. The *third* thing, on which the *pietists* insisted, was, that beside the stated meetings for public worship, private assemblies should be held for prayer and other religious exercises. But many were of opinion, that the cause of true piety and virtue was rather endangered than promoted by these assemblies: and experience and observation seemed to confirm this opinion. It would be both endless and unnecessary to enumerate all the little disputes that arose from the appointment of these private assemblies, and, in general, from the notions entertained, and the measures pursued by the *pietists*.ⁿ It is nevertheless proper to observe,

ⁿ These debates were first collected, and also needlessly multiplied, by Schetgwigius, in his *Synopsis Controversiarum sub pietatis pretextu motarum*, which was published, in the year 1701, in 8vo. The reader will also find the arguments, used by the contending parties in this dispute, judiciously summed up in two different works of Langius, the one entitled, *Antibarbarus*; and the other the *Middleway*; the former composed in Latin, the latter in German. See also the *Timotheus Verinus* of Val. Ern. Loscherns.

that the lenity and indulgence shown by these people to persons whose opinions were erroneous, and whose errors were, by no means, of an indifferent nature, irritated their adversaries to a very high degree, and made many suspect, that the *pietists* laid a much greater stress upon practice than upon belief, and, separating what ought ever to be inseparably joined together, held virtuous manners in higher esteem than religious truth. Amidst the prodigious numbers that appeared in these controversies, it was not at all surprising, if the variety of their characters, capacities, and views, be duly considered, that some were chargeable with imprudence, others with intemperate zeal, and that many, to avoid what they looked upon as unlawful, fell injudiciously into the opposite extreme.

xxxii. The other class of pietists already mentioned, whose reforming views extended so far as to change the system of doctrine and the form of ecclesiastical government that were established in the lutheran church, comprehended persons of various characters and different ways of thinking.

These restorers of vital religion endeavour to promote piety at the expense of truth.

Some of them were totally destitute of reason and judgment; their errors were the reveries of a disordered brain; and they were rather to be considered as lunatics than as heretics. Others were less extravagant, and tempered the singular notions, they had derived from reading or meditation, with a certain mixture of the important truths and doctrines of religion. We shall mention but a few persons of this class, and those only who are distinguished from the rest by their superior merit and reputation.

Among these was Godfrey Arnold, a native of Saxony, a man of extensive reading, tolerable parts, and richly endowed with that natural and unaffected eloquence, which is so wonderfully adapted to touch and to persuade. This man disturbed the tranquillity of the church toward the conclusion of this century, by a variety of theological productions, that were full of new and singular opinions; and more especially by his *Ecclesiastical History*, which he had the assurance to impose upon the public, as a work composed with candour and impartiality. His natural complexion was dark, melancholy, and austere: and these seeds of fanaticism were so expanded and nourished by the perusal of the *mystic* writers, that the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in his breast, and broke forth in his conduct

and writings with peculiar vehemence. He looked upon the *mystics* as superior to all other writers; nay, as the only depositaries of true wisdom; reduced the whole of religion to certain internal *feelings* and *motions*, of which it is difficult to form a just idea; neglected entirely the study of truth; and employed the whole power of his genius and eloquence in enumerating, deploring, and exaggerating, the vices and corruptions of human nature. If it is universally allowed to be the first and most essential obligation of an historian to avoid all appearance of partiality, and neither to be influenced by personal attachments nor by private resentment in the recital of facts, it must be fairly acknowledged, that no man could be less fit for writing history than Arnold. His whole history, as every one must see who looks into it with the smallest degree of attention, is the production of a violent spirit, and is dictated by a vehement antipathy against the doctrines and institutions of the lutheran church. One of the fundamental principles that influences the judgment, and directs the opinions and decisions of this historian, throughout the whole course of his work, is, that all the abuses and corruptions, that have found admittance into the church since the time of the apostles, have been introduced by its ministers and rulers, men of vicious and abandoned characters. From this principle, he draws the following goodly consequence; that all those who opposed the measures of the clergy, or felt their resentment, were persons of distinguished sanctity and virtue; and that such, on the contrary, as either favoured the ministers of the church, or were favoured by them, were strangers to the spirit of true and genuine piety. Hence proceeded Arnold's unaccountable partiality in favour of almost all that bore the denomination of *heretics*;° whom he defended with the utmost zeal, without having always understood their doctrine, and, in some cases, without having even examined their arguments. This partiality was highly detrimental to his reputation, and rendered his history peculiarly obnoxious to censure. He did not however continue in this way of thinking; but, as he advanced in years and experience, perceived the errors into which he had been led by the impetuosity of his pas-

† Arnold's history is thus entitled, *Historia Ecclesiastica et Heretica*. Dr. Mosheim's account of this learned man, is drawn up with much severity, and perhaps is not entirely destitute of partiality. See the life of Arnold in the *General Dictionary*.

sions and the contagious influence of pernicious examples. This sense of his mistakes corrected the vehemence of his natural temper and the turbulence of his party spirit, so that, as we learn from witnesses worthy of credit, he became at last a lover of truth and a pattern of moderation.^p

xxxiii. Arnold was far surpassed in fanatical malignity and insolence by John Conrad Dippelius, a Hes-^{Dippelius.}sian divine, who assumed the denomination of the *Christian Democritus*, inflamed the minds of the simple by a variety of productions, and excited considerable tumults and commotions toward the conclusion of this century. This vain, supercilious, and arrogant doctor, who seemed formed by nature for a satyrist and a buffoon, instead of proposing any new system of religious doctrine and discipline, was solely employed in overturning those that were received in the protestant church. His days were principally spent in throwing out sarcasms and invectives against all denominations of christians; and the lutherans, to whose communion he belonged, were more especially the objects of his raillery and derision, which, on many occasions, spared not those things that had formerly been looked upon as the most respectable and sacred. It is much to be doubted, whether he had formed any clear and distinct notions of the doctrines he taught; since, in his view of things, the power of imagination domineered evidently over the dictates of right reason and common sense. But, if he really understood the religious maxims he was propagating, he had not certainly the talent of rendering them clear and perspicuous to others; for nothing can be more ambiguous and obscure than the expressions under which they are conveyed, and the arguments by which they are supported. A man must have the gift of divination to be able to deduce a regular and consistent system of doctrine from the various productions of this incoherent and unintelligible writer, who was a chymist into the bargain, and whose brain seems to have been heated into a high degree of fermentation by the fire of the laboratory. If the rude, motley, and sarcastical writings of this wrongheaded reformer should reach posterity, it will be certainly a just matter of surprise to our descendants,

^p See Coleri *Vita Arnoldi*. *Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critique*. tom. i. p. 485
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that a considerable number of their ancestors should have been so blind as to choose for a model of genuine piety, and a teacher of religion, a man who had audaciously violated the first and most essential principles of solid piety and sound sense.⁹

xxxiv. The mild and gentle temper of John William Petersen, minister and first member of the ecclesiastical consistory of Lunenburg, distinguished him remarkably from the fiery enthusiast now mentioned. But the mildness of this good natured ecclesiastic was accompanied with a want of resolution, that might be called weakness, and a certain floridness and warmth of imagination, that rendered him peculiarly susceptible of illusion himself, and every way proper to lead others innocently into error. Of this he gave a very remarkable specimen in the year 1691, by maintaining publicly that Rosamond Juliana, countess of Asseburg, whose disordered brain suggested to her the most romantic and chimerical notions, was honoured with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to mankind. He also revived and propagated openly the obsolete doctrine of the *millennium*, which Rosamond had confirmed by her pretended authority from above. This first error produced many; for error is fertile, especially in those minds where imagination has spurned the yoke of reason, and considers all its airy visions as solid and important discoveries. Accordingly, Petersen went about prophesying with his wife,[†] who also gave herself out for a kind of oracle, and boasted of her extensive knowledge of the secrets of heaven. They talked of a general *restitution* of all things, at which grand and solemn period all intelligent beings were to be restored to happiness, the gates of hell opened, and wicked men, together with evil spirits, delivered from the guilt, power, and punishment of sin. They supposed that two *distinct natures*, and both of them *human*, were united in Christ;

⁹ His works were all published, in the year 1747, in five volumes in 4to. and his memory is still highly honoured and respected by many, who consider him as having been, in his day, an eminent teacher of true piety and wisdom. No kind of authors find such zealous readers and patrons as those who deal largely in invective, and swell themselves, by a vain self sufficiency, into an imagined superiority over the rest of mankind. Beside, Dippelius was an excellent chymist and a good physician; and this procured him many friends and admirers, as all men are fond of riches and long life, and these two sciences were supposed to lead to the one and to the other.

[†] Her name was Johanna Eleonora a Merlau.

one[†] assumed in heaven before the reformation of this globe, the other derived upon earth, from the Virgin Mary. These opinions were swallowed down by many among the multitude, and were embraced by some of superior rank; they met however with great opposition, and were refuted by a considerable number of writers, to whom Petersen, who was amply furnished with leisure and eloquence, made voluminous replies. In the year 1692, he was at length deposed; and from that period, passed his days in the tranquillity of a rural retreat in the territory of Magdeburg, where he cheered his solitude by epistolary commerce, and spent the remainder of his days in composition and study.⁵

xxxv. It is not easy to determine, whether John Caspar Schade and George Bosius may be associated properly with the persons now mentioned. They Schade and Bosius. were both good men, full of zeal for the happiness and salvation of their brethren; but their zeal was neither directed by prudence, nor tempered with moderation. The former, who was minister at Berlin, propagated several notions that seemed crude and uncouth; and, in the year 1697, inveighed with the greatest bitterness, against the custom that prevails in the lutheran church, of confessing privately to the clergy. These violent remonstrances excited great commotions, and were even attended with popular tumults. Bosius performed the pastoral functions at Soraw; and to awaken sinners from their security, and prevent their treating, with negligence and indifference, interests that are most important by being eternal, denied that God would continue always propitious and placable with respect to those offenders, whose incorrigible obstinacy he had foreseen from all eternity; or that he would offer them beyond a certain period, marked in his decrees, those succours of grace that are necessary to salvation. This tenet, in the judgment of many grave divines, seemed highly injurious to the boundless mercy of God, and was accordingly refuted and condemned in several treatises; it found nevertheless an eminent patron and defender in the

⁵ Petersen wrote his life in German, and it was first published in 8vo. in 1717. His wife added her life to it by way of supplement, in the year 1718. These pieces of biography will satisfy such as are desirous of a particular account of the character, manners, and talents, of this extraordinary pair. For an account of the troubles they excited at Lunenburg, see Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 639, the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748, p. 974. A. 1749, p. 30—200 et passim.

learned Rechenbelg, professor of divinity at Leipsic, not to mention others of less note, who appeared in its behalf.*

xxxvi. Among the controversies of inferior note that divided the lutheran church, we shall first mention those that broke out between the doctors of Tübingen and Giessen so early as the year 1616. The principal part of this debate related to the abasement and humiliation, or, to what divines call, the *exinanition* of *Jesus Christ*; and the great point was to know in what this *exinanition* properly consisted, and what was the precise nature and characteristic of this singular situation; that the *man Christ* possessed, even in the most dreadful periods of his abasement, the divine properties and attributes he had received in consequence of the *hypostatic union*, was unanimously agreed on by both of the contending parties; but they differed in their sentiments relating to this subtle and intricate question, *Whether Christ, during his mediatorial sufferings and sacerdotal state, really suspended the exertion of these attributes, or only concealed this exertion from the view of mortals.* The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tübingen, while those of Giessen were inclined to think, that the exertion of the divine attributes was *really* suspended in Christ during his humiliation and sufferings. This main question was followed by others, which were much more subtle than important, concerning the *manner* in which God is *present* with all his works, the reasons and foundation of this universal presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and others of a like intricate and unintelligible nature. The champions that distinguished themselves on the side of the doctors of Tübingen were, Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicolas, and Theodore Thummius. The most eminent of those that adopted the cause of the divines of Giessen were, Balthazar, Menzer, and Justus Fevorn. The contest was carried on with zeal, learning, and sagacity; it were to be wished that one could add, that it was managed with wisdom, dignity, and moderation. This indeed was far from being the case; but such was the spirit and genius of the age, that many things were now treated with indulgence, or beheld with approbation, which the wisdom and decency of succeeding times have justly endeavoured to dis-

Contests concerning the omnipresence of Christ's flesh, between the doctors of Tübingen and Giessen.

* See Walchins's *Introductio ad Controversias*, p. 1. cap. iv

countenance and correct. In order to terminate these disagreeable contests, the Saxon divines were commanded, by their sovereign, to offer themselves as arbitrators between the contending parties in the year 1624; their arbitration was accepted, but it did not at all contribute to decide the matters in debate. Their decisions were vague and ambiguous, and were therefore adapted to satisfy none of the parties. They declared, that they could not entirely approve of the doctrine of either; but insinuated, at the same time, that a certain degree of preference was due to the opinions maintained by the doctors of Giessen.^a Those of Tübingen rejected the decision of the Saxon arbitrators; and it is very probable, that the divines of Giessen would have appealed from it also, had not the public calamities, in which Germany began to be involved at this time, suspended this miserable contest, by imposing silence upon the disputants, and leaving them in the quiet possession of their respective opinions.

xxxvii. Before the cessation of the controversy now mentioned, a new one was occasioned, in the year 1621, by the writings of Herman Rathman, minister at Dantzic, a man of eminent piety, some learning, and a zealous patron and admirer of Arndt's famous book concerning *true Christianity*. This good man was suspected by his colleague Corvinus, and several others, of entertaining sentiments derogatory from the dignity and power of the sacred writings. These suspicions they derived from a book he published, in the year 1621, *Concerning Christ's Kingdom of Grace*, which, according to the representations of his adversaries, contained the following doctrine: "That the word of God, as it stands in the sacred writings, hath no *innate* power to illuminate the mind, to excite in it a principle of regeneration, and thus to turn it to God; that the external *word* sheweth indeed the way to salvation, but cannot *effectually* lead men to it; but that God himself, by the ministry of another, and an *internal word*, works such a change in the minds of men, as is necessary to render them agreeable in his sight, and enables them to please him by their words and actions."

The controversy occasioned by the writings of Rathman.

^a Jo. Wolf. Jaeger. *Histor. Eccles. et Polit. Sac.* xvii. *Decenn.* iii. p. 329. Christ. Eberh. Weismannii *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sac.* xvii. p. 1178. Walehius, *loc. cit.* p. 206. See also Caroli Arnold, and the other writers, who have written the Ecclesiastical History of these times

This doctrine was represented by Corvinus and his associates as the same which had been formerly held by Schwenckfeld, and was professed by the mystics in general. But whoever will be at the pains to examine with attention the various writings of Rathman on this subject, must soon be convinced, that his adversaries either misunderstood his true sentiments, or wilfully misrepresented them. His real doctrine may be comprised in the four following points: "*First*, that the divine word, contained in the holy scriptures, is endowed with the power of healing the minds of men, and bringing them to God; but that, *secondly*, cannot exert this power in the minds of corrupt men, who resist its divine operation and influence; and that of consequence, *thirdly*, it is absolutely necessary, that the word be preceded or accompanied by some divine energy, which may prepare the minds of sinners to receive it, and remove those impediments that oppose its efficacy; and *fourthly*, that it is by the power of the *holy spirit*, or *internal word*, that the external word is rendered incapable of exerting its efficacy in enlightening and sanctifying the minds of men."

There is indeed some difference between these opinions and the doctrine commonly received in the lutheran church, relating to the efficacy of the divine word; but a careful perusal of the writings of Rathman on this subject, and a candid examination of his inaccurate expressions, will persuade the impartial reader, that this difference is neither great nor important; and he will only perceive, that this pious man had not the talent of expressing his notions with order, perspicuity, and precision. However that may have been, this contest grew more general from day to day, and at length extended its polemic influence through the whole lutheran church, the greatest part of whose members followed the example of the Saxon doctors in condemning Rathman, while a considerable number, struck with the lustre of his piety, and persuaded of the innocence of his doctrine, espoused his cause. In the year 1628, when this controversy was at the greatest height, Rathman died, and then the warmth and animosity of the contending parties subsided gradually, and at length ceased.

See Mollerus's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 559. Hartknoch's German work, entitled, *Preussische Kirchen Geschichte*, book iii. ch. viii. p. 812. Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, p. iii. ch. xvi. p. 115.

XXXVIII. It would be repugnant to the true end of history, as well as to all principles of candour and equity, to swell this enumeration of the controversies that divided the lutheran church, with the private disputes of certain individuals concerning some particular points of doctrine and worship. Some writers have indeed followed this method, not so much with a design to enrich their histories with a multitude of facts, and to show men and opinions in all their various aspects, as with a view to render the lutherans ridiculous or odious. In the happiest times, and in the best modelled communities, there will always remain sufficient marks of human imperfection, and abundant sources of private contention, at least in the imprudence and mistakes of some, and the impatience and severity of others; but it must betray a great want of sound judgment, as well as of candour and impartiality, to form a general estimate of the state and character of a whole church upon such particular instances of imperfection and error. Certain singular opinions and modes of expression were censured by many in the writings of Tarnovius and Affelman, two divines of Rostoch, who were otherwise men of distinguished merit. This however will surprise us less, when we consider that these doctors often expressed themselves improperly, when their sentiments were just; and that, when their expressions were accurate and proper, they were frequently misunderstood by those who pretended to censure them. Joachim Lutkeman, a man whose reputation was considerable, and, in many respects, well deserved, took it into his head to deny that Christ remained *true man* during the three days that intervened between his death and resurrection. This sentiment appeared highly erroneous to many; hence arose a contest, which was merely a dispute about words, resembling many other debates, which like bubbles, are incessantly swelling and vanishing on the surface of human life. Of this kind, more especially, was the controversy which, for some time, exercised the talents of Boetius and Balduin, professors of divinity, the former at Helmstadt, and the latter at Wittemberg, and had for its subject the following question, *whether or no the wicked shall one day be restored to life by the merits of Christ*. In the dutchy of Holstein, Reinboth distinguished himself by the singularity of his opinions. After the example of Calixtus, he reduc-

Private controversies.

ed the fundamental doctrines of religion within narrower bounds than are usually prescribed to them; he also considered the opinion of those Greeks, who deny that the *Holy Ghost* proceeds from the *Son*, as an error of very little consequence. In both these respects, his sentiments were adopted by many; they however met with opposition from several quarters, and were censured, with peculiar warmth, by the learned John Conrad Danhaver, professor of divinity at Strasburg; in consequence of this, a kind of controversy was kindled between these two eminent men, and was carried on with more vehemence than the nature and importance of the matters in debate could well justify.* But these and other contests of this nature must not be admitted into that list of controversies, from which we are to form a judgment of the internal state of the lutheran church during this century.

xxxix. We cannot say the same thing of certain controversies, which were of a personal rather than a real nature, and related to the orthodoxy or unsoundness of certain men, rather than to the truth or falsehood of certain opinions; for these are somewhat more essentially connected with the internal state and history of the church, than the contests last mentioned. It is not unusual for those, who professedly embark in the cause of declining piety, and aim, in a solemn, zealous, and public manner, at its revival and restoration, to be elated with high and towering views, and warm with a certain enthusiastic, though noble fervour. This elevation and ardour of mind is by no means a source of accuracy and precision; on the contrary, it produces many unguarded expressions, and prevents men of warm piety from forming their language by those rules which are necessary to render it clear, accurate, and proper; it frequently dictates expressions and phrases that are pompous and emphatic, but, at the same time, allegorical and ambiguous; and leads pious and even sensible men to adopt uncouth and vulgar forms of speech, employed by writers whose style is as low and barbarous as their intentions are upright and pious, and whose practical treatises on religion and mo-

* For an account of all these controversies in general, see Arnoldi *Hist. Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 957. That which was occasioned by Reinboth is amply and circumstantially related by Mollerus, in his *Introductio ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbrice*, p. ii. p. 190, and in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 692.

ality have nothing recommendable but the zeal and fervour with which they are penned. Persons of this warm and enthusiastical turn fall with more facility than any other set of men into the suspicion of heresy, on account of the inaccuracy of their expressions. This many doctors found to be true, by a disagreeable experience, during the course of this century; but it was, in a more particular manner, the fate of Stephen Prætorius, minister of Solz-wedel, and of John Arndt, whose piety and virtue have rendered his memory precious to the friends of true religion. Prætorius had, so early as the preceding century, composed certain treatises, designed to revive a spirit of vital religion, and awaken in the minds of men a zeal for their future and eternal interests. These productions, which were frequently republished during this century, were highly applauded by many, while, in the judgment of others, they abounded with expressions and sentiments, that were partly false, and partly adapted by their ambiguity to lead men into error. It cannot be denied, that there are in the writings of Prætorius some improper and unguarded expressions, that may too easily deceive the ignorant and unwary, as also several marks of that credulity that borders upon weakness; but those who peruse his works with impartiality will be fully persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions.

The unfeigned piety and integrity of Arndt could not secure him from censure. His famous book concerning *true Christianity*, which is still perused with the utmost pleasure and edification by many persons eminent for the sanctity of their lives and manners, met with a warm and obstinate opposition. Oslander, Rostius, and other doctors, inveighed against it with excessive bitterness, pretended to find in it various defects, and alleged, among other things, that its style was infected with the jargon of the *paracelsists*, *weigeliens*, and other *mystico chymical* philosophers. It must indeed be acknowledged, that this eminent man entertained a high disgust against the philosophy, that, in his time, reigned in the schools; nor can it be denied, that he had a high, perhaps an excessive degree of respect for the chymists, and an ill placed confidence in their obscure decisions and pompous undertakings. This led him sometimes into conversation with those fantastic philosophers, who, by the power and mi-

mistry of *fire*, pretended to unfold both the secrets of nature and the mysteries of religion. But, notwithstanding this, he was declared exempt from any errors of moment by a multitude of grave and pious divines, among whom were Egard, Dilger, Breler, Gerhard, and Dorschæus; and in the issue the censures and opposition of his adversaries seemed rather to cast a new lustre on his reputation than to cover him with reproach.^y We may place in the class, now under consideration, Valentine Weigelius, a minister of the church of Zscopavia in Misnia; for though he died in the preceding century, yet it was in this that the greatest part of his writings were published, and also censured as erroneous and of a dangerous tendency. The science of chymistry, which at this time was making such a rapid progress in Germany, proved also detrimental to this ecclesiastic; who, though in the main a man of probity and merit, neglected the paths of right reason, and chose rather to wander in the devious wilds of a chimerical philosophy.^z

XL. There were a set of fanatics among the Lutherans, who in the flights of their enthusiasm far surpassed those now mentioned, and who had such a high notion of their own abilities as to attempt melting down the present form of religion, and casting a new system of piety after a model drawn from their wanton and irregular fancies; it is with some account of the principal of these spiritual projectors that we shall conclude the history of the Lutheran church during this century.

At the head of this visionary tribe we may place Jacob Behmen, a tailor at Gorlitz, who was remarkable for the multitude of his patrons and adversaries, and whom his admirers commonly called the *German Theosophist*. This man had a natural propensity toward the investigation of mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind; and having, partly by books and partly by conversation with certain physicians,^a acquired some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the *rosicrucians*, which was propagated in Germany with great os-

^y See Arnoldi *Hist. Eccles. et Hæretica*, p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 940. Weismanni *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xvii. p. 1174, 1189. Godof. Balth. Scharff *Supplementum Historiæ Criticæ Arnoldianæ*, Wittem 1727, in 8vo.

^z There is an account of Weigelius, more ample than impartial, given by Arnold *loc. cit.* lib. xvii. cap. xvii. p. 1088.

^a Viz. Tobias Kober and Baltazar Walther.

tentation during this century, he struck out of the element of *fire*, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast; on account of his piety, integrity, and sincere love of truth and virtue; and we shall not pretend to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honour him with the character of an *inspired messenger of Heaven*, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chymical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion; "That the divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the divine providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross;" and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology. Behmen had a considerable number of followers in this century, the most eminent of whom were John Lewis, Gistheil; John Angelus, Werdenhagen, Abraham Franckenberg, Theodore Tzetsch, Paul Felgenhauer, Quirinus Kuhlman, John Jacob Zimmerman; and he has still many votaries and admirers even in our times. There was indeed a signal difference between his followers; some of them retained, notwithstanding their attachment to his extravagant system, a certain degree of moderation and good sense; others of them seemed entirely out of their wits, and by their phrensy excited the compassion of those who were the spectators of their conduct; such were Kuhlman and Gichtelius, the former of whom was burnt at Moscow in the year 1684; but indeed it may be affirmed in general, that none of the disciples or followers of Behmen propagated his doctrine, or conducted themselves in such a manner as to do honour either to their master or to his cause in the judgment of the wise.^b

^b It is needless to mention the writers who employed their pens in stemming the torrent of Behmen's enthusiasm. The works of this fanatic are in every body's hands, and the books that were composed to refute them are well known, and to be found every where. All that has been alleged in his favour and defence has been carefully

NLI. Another class of persons, who deserve to be placed immediately after Behmen, were they, whom a disordered brain persuaded that they were prophets sent from above, and that they were divinely inspired with the power of foretelling future events. A considerable number of these delirious fanatics arose during the course of this century; and more especially at that juncture when the house of Austria was employed in maintaining its power in the empire, against the united armies of Sweden, France, and Germany. It is remarkable enough, that the tribe of pretended prophets and diviners is never more numerous than at those critical and striking periods when great revolutions are expected, or sudden and heavy calamities have happened; as such periods, and the scenes they exhibit, inflame the imagination of the fanatic, and may be turned to the profit of the impostor. The most eminent of the fanatical prophets now under consideration, were, Nicholas Drabicius. Christopher Kotter, Christina Poniatovia, who found an eloquent defender and patron in John Amos Comenio; not to mention Joachim Greulich, Anne Vetter, Mary Froelich, George Reichard, and several others, who audaciously assumed the same character. It is not necessary to enter into a more circumstantial detail of the history of this visionary tribe, since none of them arose to such a degree of reputation and consequence, as to occasion any considerable tumults by their predictions. It is sufficient to have observed in general, that, even in this century, there were among the Lutherans certain crazy fanatics, who, under the impulse of a disordered imagination, assumed the character and authority of prophets sent from above to enlighten the world.^c

collected by Arnold, who is, generally speaking, peculiarly eloquent in the praises of those whom others treat with contempt. For an account of Kuhlman, and his unhappy fate, see the German work, entitled, *Unschuld Nachricht*. A. 1748.

¶ Behmen however had the good fortune to meet with, in our days, a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well meaning, but gloomy and visionary, Mr. William Law, who was, for many years, preparing a new edition and translation of Behmen's works, which he left behind him, ready for the press, and which have been published in two vols. 4to. since his decease. N.

^c Arnold is to be commended for giving us an accurate collection of the transactions and visions of these enthusiasts, in the third and fourth parts of his *History of Heretics*; since those who are desirous of full information in this matter may easily see, by consulting this historian, that the pretended revelations of these prophets were no more than the phantoms of a disordered imagination. A certain pious but ignorant man, named Benedict Bahusen, who was a native of Holstein, and lived at Amsterdam about the middle of the last century, was so delighted with the writings and predictions of these fanatics, that he collected them carefully and published them. In the year 1670, a catalogue of his library was printed at Amsterdam, which was full of chymical and fanatical books.

XLII. It will not however be improper to mention, somewhat more circumstantially, the case of those, who, though they did not arrive at that enormous height of folly that leads men to pretend to divine inspiration, yet deceived themselves and deluded others, by entertaining and propagating the strangest fancies and the most monstrous and impious absurdities. Sometime after the commencement of this century, Isaiah Stiefel and Ezekiel Meth, inhabitants of Thuringia, were observed to throw out the most extraordinary and shocking expressions while they spoke of themselves and their religious attainments. These expressions, in the judgment of many, amounted to nothing less than attributing to themselves the divine glory and majesty, and thus implied a blasphemous, or rather a frenetic, insult on the Supreme Being and his eternal Son: It is nevertheless scarcely credible, however irrational we may suppose them to have been, that these fanatics should have carried their perverse and absurd fancies to such an amazing height; and it would perhaps be more agreeable both to truth and clarity to suppose, that they had imitated the pompous and turgid language of the mystic writers in such an extravagant manner, as to give occasion to the heavy accusation abovementioned. Considering the matter even in this candid and charitable light, we may see by their examples how much the constant perusal of the writings of the mystics is adapted to shed darkness, delusion, and folly into the imagination of weak and ignorant men.^d The reveries of Paul Nagel, professor of divinity at Leipsic, were highly absurd, but of a much less pernicious tendency than these already mentioned. This prophetic dreamer, who had received a light tincture of mathematical knowledge, pretended to see, in the position of the stars, the events that were to happen in church and state; and, from a view of these celestial bodies, foretold, in a more particular manner, the erection of a new and most holy kingdom in which Christ should reign here upon earth.^e

XLIII. Christian Hoburg, a native of Lunenburg, a man of a turbulent and inconstant spirit, and not more

Ezekiel Meth,
Isaiah Stiefel,
Paul Nagel.

Christian Ho-

^d See Arnold, *Historia Eccles. et Heret.* p. iii. cap. iv. p. 32. Thomasius, in his German work, entitled, *Historie de Weisheit und Narrheit*, vol. i. p. iii. p. 150

^e Arnold *loc. cit.* p. iii. cap. v. p. 53. Andr. Caroli *Memorabilia Ecclesie Sæc. xvii.* part i. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 513.

Hoburg, Frederic Breckling, Seidenlecher.

remarkable for his violence than for his duplicity, threw out the most bitter reproaches and invectives against the whole lutheran church without exception,^f and thereby involved himself in various perplexities. He deceived indeed the multitude a long time, by his dissimulation and hypocrisy; and by a series of frauds, which he undoubtedly looked upon as lawful, he disguised so well his true character that he appeared to many, and especially to persons of a candid and charitable turn, much less contemptible than he was in reality; and though the acrimony and violence of his proceedings were condemned, yet they were supposed to be directed, not against religion itself, but against the licentiousness and vices of its professors, and particularly of its ministers. At length however the mask fell from the face of this hypocrite; who became an object of general indignation and contempt, and, deserting the communion of the lutheran church, went over to the mennonites.^g There was a striking resemblance between this petulant railer and Frederic Breckling; the latter however surpassed even the former in impetuosity and malignity. Breckling had been pastor, first in the datchy of Holstein, and afterward at Zwohl, a city in the United Provinces, where he was deposed from his ministry, and lived a great many years after without being attached to any religious sect or community. There are several of his writings still extant, which indeed recommend warmly the practice of piety and virtue, and seem to express the most implacable abhorrence of vicious persons and licentious manners; and yet, at the same time, they demonstrate plainly that their author was destitute of that charity, prudence, meekness, patience, and love of truth, which are the essential and fundamental virtues of a real christian.^h It is undoubtedly a just matter of surprise, that these vehement declaimers against the established religion and its ministers, who pretend to be so much more sagacious and sharp sighted than their brethren, do not perceive a truth,

^f Hoburg, in some of his petulant and satirical writings, assumed the names of Elias Prætorius and Bernard Baumann.

^g Arnold, *loc. cit.* p. iii. cap. xiii. p. 130. Andr. Caroli, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 1065. Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* p. 535. Molleri *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 337.

^h Arnold has given an account of Breckling, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* part iii. p. 148, and part iv. p. 1103, he has also published some of his writings, p. 1119, which sufficiently demonstrate the irregularity and exuberance of his fancy. There is a particular account of this degraded pastor given by Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Litterata* tom. iii. p. 72.

which the most simple may learn from daily observation ; even that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry, petulant, and violent reformer, who comes to heal the disorders of a community, armed, as it were, with fire and sword, with menaces and terrors. It is also to be wondered, that these men are not aware of another consideration equally obvious, namely, that it is scarcely credible, that a *spiritual* physician will cure another with entire success of the disorders under which he himself is known to labour.

George Laurence Seidenbecher, pastor at Eisfield in Saxony, adopted himself, and propagated, among the multitude, the doctrine of the *millennium* or thousand years reign of Christ upon earth ; a doctrine which scarcely ever gains admittance but in disordered brains, and rarely produces any other fruits than incoherent dreams and idle visions. Seidenbecher was censured on account of this doctrine, and deposed from his pastoral charge.¹

XLIV. It would be superfluous to name the other fanatics that deserve a place in the class now before us, since they almost all laboured under the same disorder, and the uniformity of their sentiments and conduct was so perfect, that the history of one, a few instances excepted, may, in a great measure, be considered as the history of them all. We shall therefore conclude this crazy list with a short account of the very worst of the whole tribe, Martin Seidelius, a native of Silesia, who endeavoured to form a sect in Poland toward the conclusion of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but could not find followers, even among the socinians ; so wild were his views, and so extravagant his notions. This audacious adventurer in religious novelties was of opinion, that God had indeed promised a Saviour or Messiah to the Jews ; but that *this* Messiah had never appeared, and never would appear, on account of the sins of the Jewish people, which rendered them unworthy of this great deliverer. From hence he concluded, that it was erroneous to look upon Christ as the Messiah ; that the only office of Jesus was to interpret and republish the law of nature, that had been perverted and obscured by the vices, corruptions, and ignorance of men ; and that the 'whole duty of man,

¹ There is a circumstantial account of this man given by Alb. Meno Verpoortsen. in his *Commentat. de vita et institutis G. L. Seidenbecheri*, Gedani. 1734, 4to.

and all the obligations of religion; were fulfilled by an obedience to this law, republished and explained by Jesus Christ. To render this doctrine more defensible and specious, or at least to get rid of a multitude of arguments and express declarations that might be drawn from the holy scriptures to prove its absurdity, he boldly rejected all the books of the New Testament. The small number of disciples that adopted the fancies of this intrepid innovator, were denominated *semijudaizers*.^k Had he appeared in our times, he would have given less offence than at the period in which he lived; for, if we except his singular notion concerning the Messiah, his doctrine was such as would at present be highly agreeable to many persons in Great Britain, Holland, and other countries.^l

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

1. It has been already observed, that the reformed church, considered in the most comprehensive sense of that term, as forming a *whole*, composed of a great variety of parts, is rather united by the principles of moderation and fraternal charity, than by a perfect uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship. It will therefore be proper to take, first a view of those events that related to this great body collectively considered; and afterward to enter into a detail of the most memorable occurrences that happened in the particular communities of which it is composed. The principal accessions it received during this century have already been mentioned, when, in the history of the lutheran church, we related the changes and commotions that happened in the princi-

The limits of the reformed church extended.

^k See Gustavi Georgii Zeltneri 'Historia Crypto Socinismi Altorfiani,' vol. i. p. 268, 335.

^l We are much at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim means by this insinuation, as also the persons he has in view; for, on the one hand, it is sufficiently evident, that he cannot mean the *deists*; and, on the other, we know of no denomination of christians, who *boldly reject all the books of the New Testament*. Our author probably meant, that the part of Seidel's doctrine which represents Christ's mission as *only* designed to *republish* and interpret the *law of nature*, and the *whole* religious and moral duty of man as consisting in an obedience to this law, would have been well received by many persons in Great Britain and Holland; but he should have said so; nothing requires such precision as accusations.

palities of Hussia and Brandenburg.^m These however were not the only changes that took place in favour of the reformed church. Its doctrine was embraced, about the commencement of this century, by Adolphus, duke of Holstein, and it was naturally expected, that the subjects would follow the example of their prince; but this expectation was disappointed, by the death of Adolphus, in the year 1616.ⁿ Henry, duke of Saxony, withdrew also from the communion of the lutherans, in whose religious principles he had been educated; and, in the year 1688, embraced the doctrine of the reformed church at Dessau, in consequence. as some allege, of the solicitations of his dutchess.^o In Denmark, about the beginning of this century, there were still a considerable number of persons who secretly espoused the sentiments of that church. and more especially could never reconcile themselves to the lutheran doctrine of Christ's "bodily presence with the sacrament of the eucharist." They were confirmed in their attachment to the tenets of the reformed by Hemmingius, and other followers of Melancthon, whose secret ministry and public writings were attended with considerable success. The face of things however changed; and the reformed in Denmark saw their expectations vanish, and their credit sink, in the year 1614, when Canut, bishop of Gottenburg, who had given too plain intimations of his propensity to the doctrines of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal dignity.^p The progress of the reformed religion in Africa, Asia, and America, is abundantly known; it was carried into these distant regions by the English and Dutch emigrants, who formed settlements there for the purposes of commerce, and founded flourishing churches in the various provinces where they fixed their habitations. It is also known, that in several places where lutheranism was es-

^m See section ii. part ii. chap. i. § i. ii. where the 'History of the Lutheran Church commences with an account of the loss that church sustained by the secession of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who embraced solemnly the doctrine of the reformed church, the former in 1604, and the latter in 1614.

ⁿ Jo. Molleri 'Introductio ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ,' p. ii. p. 101. Eric. Pontopidan 'Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici,' tom. iii. p. 691.

^o See Moebii *Selectæ Disp. Theolog.* p. 1137. The duke of Saxony published to the world a *Confession of his Faith*, containing the reasons of his change. This piece, which the divines of Leipsic were obliged by a public order to refute, was defended against their attacks by the learned Isaac de Beausobre, at that time pastor at Magdeburg, in a book, entitled, 'Défense de la Doctrine des Reformés, et en particulier de la Confession de S. A. S. Misgr. le Duc Henry de Saxe contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Théologie à Leipsic.' Magdeburg, 1694, in 8vo.

^p Pontopidan. *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 695.

established, the French, German, and British members of the reformed church were allowed the free exercise of their religion.

11. Of all the calamities that tended to diminish the influence, and eclipse the lustre, of the reformed church, none was more dismal in its circumstances, and more unhappy in its effects, than the deplorable fate of that church in France. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, the reformed church had acquired the form of a body politic.^a Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and were possessed of several fortified places, particularly the strong city of Rochelle: in which, to render their security still more complete, they were allowed to have their own garrisons. This body politic was not indeed always under the influence and direction of leaders eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown, and the person of the sovereign. Truth and candour oblige us to acknowledge, that the *reformed* conducted themselves, on some occasions, in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes, amidst the broils and tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation or consent; nay, they went so far as to solicit, more than once, without so much as disguising their measures, the alliance and friendship of England and Holland, and formed views which, at least in appearance, were scarcely consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom, nor with a proper respect for the authority of its monarch. Hence the contests and civil broils that arose, in the year 1621, and subsisted long, between Louis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and hence the severe and despotic maxim of Richlieu, the first minister of that monarch, that the kingdom of France could never enjoy the sweets of peace, nor the satisfaction that is founded upon the assurance of public safety, before the protestants were deprived of their towns and strong holds, and before their rights and privileges, together with their ecclesiastical polity, were crushed to

The decline of
the reformed
church in
France.

^a *Imperium in imperio*, i. e. an empire within an empire.

pieces, and totally suppressed. This haughty minister, after many violent efforts and hard struggles, obtained at length his purpose; for, in the year 1628, the town of Rochelle, the chief bulwark of the reformed interest in France, was taken, after a long and difficult siege, and annexed to the crown. From this fatal event, the reformed party in France, defenceless and naked, dates its decline; since, after the reduction of their chief city, they had no other resource than the pure clemency and generosity of their sovereign.* Those who judge of the reduction of this place by the maxims of civil policy, consider the conduct of the French court as entirely consistent with the principles both of wisdom and justice; since nothing can be more detrimental to the tranquillity and safety of the nation, than a body politic erected in its bosom, independent on the supreme authority of the state, and secured against its influence or inspection by an external force. And had the French monarch, satisfied with depriving the protestants of their strong holds, continued to maintain them in the possession of that liberty of conscience, and that free exercise of their religion, for which they had shed so much blood, and to the enjoyment of which their eminent services to the house of Bourbon had given them such a fair and illustrious title, it is highly probable they would have borne with patience this infraction of their privileges, and the loss of that liberty that had been confirmed to them by the most solemn edicts.

III. But the court of France, and the despotic views of its minister, were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that form of civil polity that had been annexed to the reformed church as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, and was afterward considered as detrimental to the supreme authority of the state, they proceeded still further; and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church that were merely of a spiritual and religious nature. At first, the court, and the ministers of its tyranny, put in practice all the arts of insinuation and persua-

The injurious and tyrannical treatment it receives from the French court.

* See Le Clerc *Vie de Cardinal Richlieu*, tom. i. p. 69, 77, 177, 199, 269. Le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 676, tom. iv. p. 1. and the following volumes. See also the *Memoirs* of Sully, the friend and confidant of Henry IV. who, though a protestant, acknowledges frankly the errors of his party, vol. iii. iv. v.

sion, in order to gain over the heads of the reformed church, and the more learned and celebrated ministers of that communion. Pathetic exhortations, alluring promises, artful interpretations of those doctrines of popery that were most disagreeable to the protestants; in a word, every insidious method was employed to conquer their aversion to the church of Rome. Richlieu exhausted all the resources of his dexterity and artifice, and put into execution, with the most industrious assiduity, all the means that he thought the most adapted to seduce the protestants into the Romish communion. When all these stratagems were observed to produce little or no effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate and destroy a set of men, whom mean perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments were insufficient to convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that the ingenious efforts of malice could invent, were put in execution, to damp the courage of a party, that were become odious by their resolute adherence to the dictates of their consciences, and to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their intemperate and unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty; many of the protestants sunk under the weight of despotic oppression, and yielded up their faith to armed legions that were sent to convert them; several fled from the storm; and deserted their families, their friends, and their country; and by far the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion, which their ancestors had delivered, and happily separated, from the manifold superstitions of a corrupt and idolatrous church.

iv. When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the protestants under the reign of Louis XIV. the bishops and jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence in the cabinet of that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate, by fire and sword this resolute people; and thus to ruin, as it were, by one mortal blow, the cause of the reformation in France. Their insidious arguments and importunate solicitations had such an effect upon the weak and credulous mind of Louis, that, in the year 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and re-

The edict of
Nantes revoked.
ed.

gardless of all laws, human and divine, he revoked the *edict of Nantes*, and thereby deprived the protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. This revocation was accompanied indeed with the applause of Rome; but it excited the indignation even of many Roman catholics, whose bigotry had not effaced or suspended, on this occasion, their natural sentiments of generosity and justice. It was moreover followed by a measure still more tyrannical and shocking; even an express order, addressed to all the reformed churches, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this cruel and unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests and the real prosperity of the French nation,^s by the prodigious emigrations it occasioned among the protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty, and that humane treatment, which their mother country had so cruelly refused them. Those among them, whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution that could be adapted to subdue their courage, exhaust their patience, and thus engage them to a feigned and external profession of popery, which in their consciences they beheld with the utmost aversion and disgust. This crying act of perfidy and injustice in a prince, who, on other occasions, gave evident proofs of his generosity and equity, is sufficient to show, in their true and genuine colours, the spirit of the Romish church and of the Roman pontiffs, and the manner in which they stand affected to those whom they consider as *heretics*. It is pe-

^s See the *Life of Isaac de Beausobre*, composed by the ingenious Armand de la Chapelle in French, and subjoined to Beausobre's '*Remarques Historiques, Critiques, et Philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament*,' p. 259.

Some late hireling writers, employed by the jesuits, have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the *revocation* of the edict of Nantes. But it must be observed, to the honour of the French nation, that these impotent attempts, to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood, have been treated almost universally at Paris with indignation and contempt. They, who are desirous of seeing a true state of the losses the French nation sustained, by the revocation of the famous edict now mentioned, have only to consult the curious and authentic account of the state of that nation, taken from memorials drawn up by intendants of the several provinces, for the use of the duke of Burgundy, and published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, under the following title; '*Etat de la France, extrait par M. le Comte de Boulainvillier des Memoires dressees par les Intendants du Royaume, par l'Ordre du Roi Louis XIV. a la Sollicitation du Duc de Bourgogne.*' See also Voltaire, *Sur la Tolerance*, p. 41 and 201. And, for an account of the conduct of the French court toward the protestants at that dismal period, see the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, *Plaintes des Protestans de France*, p. 12—85, edit. of Cologne.

cularly adapted to convince the impartial and attentive observer, that the most solemn oaths, and the most sacred treaties, are never looked upon by this church and its pontiffs as respectable and obligatory, when the violation of them may contribute to advance their interests, or to accomplish their views.

v. The *waldenses*, who lived in the vallies of Piedmont, and had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of Geneva, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most barbarous and inhuman manner, during the greatest part of this century, by the ministers of Rome. This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total destruction and entire extinction of that unhappy nation.^t The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny; and the small numbers of the waldenses that survived them, are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never cease to solicit the clemency of the duke of Savoy in their behalf.

The church of the *palatinate*, which had been long at the head of the reformed churches in Germany, declined apace from the year 1685, when a Roman catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so great, that, instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the protestant assemblies in that country.

vi. The eminent and illustrious figure that the principal members of the reformed church made in the learned world is too well known, and the reputation they acquired, by a successful application to the various branches of literature and science, is

The state of
letters and
philosophy in
the reformed
church.

^t Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, p. ii. c. vi. p. 72. Gilles, *Histoire Ecclesiast. des Eglises Vaudoises*, ch. xlix. p. 353. There is a particular history of the persecution suffered by these victims of papal cruelty in the year 1686, which was published in 8vo. at Rotterdam, in the year 1688.

☞ See also a pamphlet, entitled, *An Account of the late Persecutions of the Waldenses by the duke of Savoy and the French king in the year 1686*, published at Oxford in 4to. in 1688. See likewise a particular detail of the miseries endured by these unfortunate objects of papal persecution in the years 1655, 1662, 1663, and 1686, related by Peter Boyer, in his history of the Vandois, ch. 12—21, p. 72, &c.

too well established to require our entering into a circumstantial detail of that matter. We shall also pass in silence the names of those celebrated men who have acquired immortal fame by their writings, and transmitted their eminent usefulness to succeeding times in their learned and pious productions. Out of the large list of these famous authors that adorned the reformed church, it would be difficult to select the most eminent; and this is a sufficient reason for our silence." The supreme guide and legislator of those that applied themselves to the study of philosophy had been Aristotle, who, for a long time, reigned unrivalled in the reformed, as well as in the lutheran schools; and was exhibited, in both, not in his natural and genuine aspect, but in the motley and uncouth form in which he had been dressed up by the scholastic doctors. But when Gasseudi and Des Cartes appeared, the Stagite began to decline, and his fame and authority diminished gradually from day to day. Among the French and Dutch, many adopted the cartesian philosophy at its first dawn; and a considerable number of the English embraced the principles of Gassendi, and were singularly pleased with his prudent and candid manner of investigating truth. The aristotelians every where, and more especially in Holland, were greatly alarmed at this revolution in the philosophical world, and set themselves, with all their vigour, to oppose its progress. They endeavoured to persuade the people, that the cause of truth and religion must suffer considerably by the efforts that were made to dethrone Aristotle, and bring into disrepute the doctrine of his interpreters; but the principal cause of their anxiety and zeal, was the apprehension of losing their places in the public schools; a thought which they could not bear with

☞ "The list of the eminent divines and men of learning that were ornaments to the reformed church in the seventeenth century, is indeed extremely ample. Among those that adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember, with peculiar veneration, the immortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Usher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany we find Pareus, Scultet, Fabricius, Alting, Pelargus, and Bergius. In Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, and Turretin. In the churches and academies of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines; Drusus, Amama, Gomer, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vossius, Cocceius, Voetius, Des Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hoornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moine, De Mastrieht, and others. Among the French doctors, we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daille, Amyraut, the two Cappels, Du la Placé, Gamstole, Croy, Morin, Le Blanc, Pajon, Boehart, Claude, Alix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, Lefant, Martin, Des Vignoles, &c.

any degree of patience.^w However, the powerful lustre of truth, which unfolded daily more and more its engaging charms, and the love of liberty, which had been held in chains by peripatetic tyranny, obliged this obstinate sect to yield, and reduced them to silence; and hence it is, that the doctors of the reformed church carry on, at this day, their philosophical inquiries with the same freedom that is observable among the lutherans. It may indeed be a question with some, whether Aristotle be not, even yet, secretly revered in some of the English universities. It is at least certain, that, although under the government of Charles II. and the two succeeding reigns, the mathematical philosophy had made a most extensive progress in Great Britain, there were nevertheless, both at Oxford and Cambridge, some doctors who preferred the ancient system of the schools before the new discoveries now under consideration.

vii. All the interpreters and expositors of scripture that made a figure in the reformed church about the commencement of this century, followed scrupulously the method of Calvin in their illustrations of the sacred writings, and unfolded the true and natural signification of the words of scripture, without perplexing their brains to find out deep mysteries in plain expressions, or to force, by the inventive efforts of fancy, a variety of singular notions from the metaphorical language that is frequently used by the inspired writers. This universal attachment to the method of Calvin was indeed considerably diminished, in process of time, by the credit and influence of two celebrated commentators, who struck out new paths in the sphere of sacred criticism. These were Hugo Grotius and John Coecejus. The former departed less from the manner of interpretation generally received than the latter. Like Calvin, he followed, in his commentaries both in the Old and New Testament, the literal and obvious signification of the words employed by the sacred writers; but he differed considerably from that great man in his manner of explaining the predictions of the prophets. The hypothesis of Grotius, relating to that important subject, amounts to this: "That the predictions of the ancient prophets were all accomplished, in the events to which they directly pointed, before the coming of Christ; and

Interpreters
and expositors
of scripture.

^w See Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*, passim.

that therefore the natural and obvious sense of the words and phrases, in which they were delivered, does not terminate in our blessed Lord; but that in certain of these predictions, and more especially in those which the writers of the New Testament apply to Christ, there is, beside the literal and obvious signification, a hidden and mysterious sense, that lies concealed under the external mask of certain *persons*, certain *events*, and certain *actions*, which are *representatives* of the person, ministry, sufferings, and merits of the Son of God."

The method of Cocceius was entirely different from this. He looked upon the whole history of the Old Testament as a perpetual and uninterrupted representation or mirror of the history of the divine Saviour, and of the christian church; he maintained moreover that all the prophecies have a literal and direct relation to Christ; and he finished his romantic system, by laying it down as a certain maxim, that all the events and revolutions that shall happen in the church, until the end of time, are prefigured and pointed out, though not all with the same degree of evidence and perspicuity, in different places of the Old Testament.* These two eminent commentators had each his zealous disciples and followers. The arminians in general, many of the English and French divines, together with those warm votaries of ancient calvinism, who are called *voet-sians*, from their chief, Gisbert Voet, the great adversary of Cocceius, all adopted the method of interpreting scripture introduced by Grotius. On the other hand, many of the Dutch, Swiss, and Germans, were singularly delighted with the learned fancies of Cocceius. There are however still great numbers of prudent and impartial divines, who, considering the extremes into which these two eminent critics have run, and disposed to profit by what is really solid in both their systems, neither reject nor embrace their opinions in the lump, but agree with them both in some things, and differ from them both in others. It is further to be observed, that neither the followers of Grotius nor of

* It is become almost a proverbial saying, that in the books of the Old Testament Cocceius finds Christ every where, while Grotius meets him no where. The first part of this saying is certainly true; the latter much less so; for it appears, with sufficient evidence, from the Commentaries of Grotius, that he finds Christ prefigured in many places of the Old Testament, not indeed directly in the letter of the prophecies, where Cocceius discovers him, but mysteriously, under the appearance of certain persons, and in the secret sense of certain transactions.

Cocceius are agreed among themselves, and that these two general classes of expositors may be divided into many subordinate ones. A considerable number of English divines of the *episcopal* church refused to adopt the opinions, or to respect the authority, of these modern expositors; they appealed to the decisions of the primitive fathers; and maintained, that the sacred writings ought always to be understood in that sense *only*, which has been attributed to them by these ancient doctors of the rising church.^y

VIII. The doctrines of Christianity, which had been so sadly disfigured among the lutherans by the obscure jargon and the intricate tenets of the scholastic philosophy, met with the same fate in the reformed churches. The first successful effort, that prevented these churches from falling entirely under the *aristotelian* yoke, was made by the *urminians*, who were remarkable for expounding, with simplicity and perspicuity, the truths and precepts of religion, and who censured, with great plainness and severity, those ostentatious doctors, who affected to render them obscure and unintelligible, by expressing them in the *terms*, and reducing them under the *classes* and divisions, used in the schools. The *cartesians* and *cocceians*, contributed also to deliver theology from the chains of the peripatetics; though it must be allowed, that it had not, in some respects, a much better fate in the hands of these its deliverers. The *cartesians* applied the principles and tenets of their philosophy in illustrating the doctrines of the gospel; the *cocceians* imagined, that they could

^y These have been confuted by the learned Dr. Whitby, in his important work, "Concerning the Interpretation of Scripture after the Manner of the Fathers," which was published at London in 8vo. in the year 1714, under the following title: "Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios," &c. In this dissertation, which was the forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterward made to deliver the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, from the restraints of human authority. the judicious author has shown, *first*, that the holy scripture is the only rule of faith, and that by it alone we are to judge of the doctrines that are necessary to salvation; *secondly*, that the fathers, both of the primitive times, and also of succeeding ages, are extremely deficient and unsuccessful in their explications of the sacred writings; and, *thirdly*, that it is impossible to terminate the debates that have been raised concerning the Holy Trinity, by the opinions of the fathers, the decisions of councils, or by any tradition that is really universal. The contradictions, absurdities, the romantic conceits and extravagant fancies, that are to be found in the commentaries of the fathers, were never represented in such a ridiculous point of view as they are in this performance. The worst part of the matter is, that such a production as Dr. Whitby's in which all the mistakes of these ancient expositors are culled out and compiled with such care, is too much adapted to prejudice young students even against what may be good in their writings, and thus disgust them against a kind of study, which, when conducted with impartiality and prudence, has its uses. It is the infirmity of our nature to be fond of extremes.

not give a more sublime and engaging aspect to the christian religion, than by representing it under the notion of a *covenant* entered into between God and man;² and both these manners of proceeding were disliked by the wisest and most learned divines of the reformed church. They complained, with reason, that the tenets and distinctions of the cartesian philosophy had as evident a tendency to render the doctrines of Christianity obscure and intricate as the abstruse terms, and the endless divisions and subdivisions of the peripatetics. They observed also, that the metaphor of a *covenant*, applied to the christian religion, must be attended with many inconveniences, by leading uninstructed minds to form a variety of ill grounded notions, which is the ordinary consequence of straining metaphors; and that it must contribute to introduce into the colleges of divinity the captious terms, distinctions, and quibbles, that are employed in the ordinary courts of justice; and thus give rise to the most trifling and ill judged discussions and debates about religious matters. Accordingly, the greatest part, both of the British and French doctors, refusing to admit the intricacies of *cartesianism*, and the imagery of Cocceius, into their theological system, followed the free, easy, and unaffected method of the arminian divines, in illustrating the truths, and enforcing the duties of Christianity.

ix. We have had formerly occasion to observe, that Dr. William Ames, a Scots divine, was one of the first among the reformed who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree

The state of practical religion and morality.

It is somewhat surprising, that Dr. Mosheim should mention this circumstance as an invention of Cocceius, or as a manner of speaking peculiar to him. The representation of the gospel dispensation under the idea of a *covenant*, whether this representation be literal or metaphorical, is to be found, almost every where, in the *Epistles of St. Paul*, and the other apostles, though very rarely, scarcely more than twice, in the gospels. This phraseology has also been adopted by christians of almost all denominations. It is indeed a manner of speaking that has been grossly abused by those divines, who, urging the metaphor too closely, exhibit the sublime transactions of the divine wisdom under the narrow and imperfect forms of human tribunals; and thus lead to false notions of the springs of action, as well as of the dispensations and attributes of the Supreme Being. We have remarkable instances of this abuse, in a book lately translated into English, I mean, the *Economy of the Covenants*, by Witsius, in which that learned and pious man, who has deservedly gained an eminent reputation by other valuable productions, has inconsiderately introduced the captious, formal, and trivial terms, employed in human courts, into his descriptions of the stupendous scheme of redemption.

of accuracy and precision, into this *master science* of life and manners. The attempt was laudable, had it been well executed ; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtile, and was thus much more adapted to the instruction of the studious than to the practical direction of the christian. The arminians, who are known to be much more zealous in enforcing the duties of Christianity than in illustrating its truths, and who generally employ more pains in directing the will than in enlightening the understanding, engaged several authors of note to exhibit the precepts and obligations of morality in a more useful, practical, and popular manner ; but the English and French surpassed all the moral writers of the reformed church in penetration, solidity, and in the ease, freedom, and perspicuity of their method and compositions. Moses Amyraut, a man of a sound understanding and subtile genius, was the first of the French divines who distinguished themselves in this kind of writing. He composed an accurate and elaborate system of morality, in a style indeed that is now become obsolete ; and those more moderate French writers, such as La Placette and Pictet, who acquired such a high and eminent reputation on account of their moral writings, owe to the excellent work now mentioned a considerable part of their glory. While England groaned under the horrors and tumults of a civil war, it was chiefly the *presbyterians* and *independents*, that employed their talents and their pens in promoting the cause of practical religion. During this unhappy period indeed these doctors were remarkable for the austere gravity of their manners, and for a melancholy complexion and turn of mind ; and these appeared abundantly in their compositions. Some of them were penned with such rigour and severity, as discovered either a total ignorance of the present imperfect state of humanity, or an entire want of all sort of indulgence for its unavoidable infirmities. Others were composed with a spirit of enthusiasm, that betrayed an evident propensity to the doctrine of the mystics. But when Hobbes appeared, the scene changed. A new set of illustrious and excellent writers arose to defend the truths of religion, and the obligations of morality, against this author, who aimed at the destruction of both, since he subjected the unchangeable nature of religion to the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and endeavoured to ef-

face the eternal distinction that there is between moral good and evil. Cudworth, Cumberland, Sharrock, and others,^a alarmed at the view of a system so false in its principles, and so pernicious in its effects, rendered eminent service to the cause of religion and morals by their immortal labours, in which, arising to the *first principles of things*, and opening the primitive and eternal fountains of *truth* and *good*, they illustrated clearly the doctrines of the *one* with the fairest evidence, and established the obligations of the *other* on the firmest foundations.

x. About the commencement of this century, the academy of Geneva was in such high repute among the reformed churches, that it was resorted to from all quarters by such as were desirous of a learned education; and more especially by those students of theology, whose circumstances in life permitted them to frequent this famous seminary.^b Hence it very naturally happened, that the opinions of Calvin, concerning the *decrees of God* and *divine grace*, became daily more universal, and were gradually introduced every where into the schools of learning. There was not however any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the reformed churches, in any part of the world, to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were adopted and taught at Geneva.^c And accordingly there were many, who either rejected entirely the doctrine of that academy on these intricate points, or received it with certain restrictions and modifications. Nay, even those who were in general attached to the theological system of Geneva, were not perfectly agreed about the manner of explaining the doctrine relating to the divine decrees. The greatest part were of opinion, that God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without positively *predetermining* his fall. But others went much further, and, presumptuously forgetting their own ignorance on the one hand, and the wisdom and equity of the divine counsels on the other, maintained, that God, in order to exer-

The contro-
versies con-
cerning pre-
destination
and grace.

^a See Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers*, vol. i. p. 48.

^b The lustre and authority of the academy of Geneva began gradually to decline, from the time that, the United Provinces being formed into a free and independent republic, universities were founded at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht.

^c See, for a full demonstration of this assertion, Grotius's *Apologeticus*, &c. as also several treatises, written in Dutch, by Theod. Volkh. Coornkert, of whom Arnoldi, makes particular mention in his *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* tom. ii.

cise and display his awful *justice* and his free *mercy*, had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam; and so ordered the course of events, that our first parents could not possibly avoid their unhappy fall. Those that held this latter sentiment were denominated *supralapsarians*, to distinguish them from the *sublapsarian* doctors, who maintained the doctrine of *permission* already mentioned.

x1. It is remarkable enough, that the *supralapsarian* and *sublapsarian* divines forgot their debates and differences, as matters of little consequence; and united their force against those who thought it their duty to represent the Deity as extending his goodness and mercy to *all mankind*. This gave rise, soon after the commencement of this century, to a deplorable schism, which all the efforts of human wisdom have since been unable to heal. James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to the deep and intricate points of predestination and grace; and maintained, with the lutherans, that God has excluded none from salvation by an *absolute* and eternal decree. He was joined in these sentiments by several persons in Holland, that were eminently distinguished by the extent of their learning and the dignity of their stations; but he met with the warmest opposition from Francis Gomar his colleague, and from the principal professors in the Dutch universities. The magistrates exhorted the contending parties to moderation and charity; and observed, that, in a free state, their respective opinions might be treated with toleration, without any detriment to the essential interests of true religion. After long and tedious debates, which were frequently attended with popular tumults and civil broils, this intricate controversy was, by the councils and authority^d of Maurice, prince of Orange, referred to the decision of the church, assembled, in a general synod at Dort, in the year 1618. The most eminent divines of the United Provinces, and not only so, but learned deputies from the churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hessa, and the Palatinate, were present at this numerous and solemn assembly. It was

^d It was not by the authority of prince Maurice, but by that of the states general, that the national synod was assembled at Dort. The states were not indeed unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding of this synod, viz. Holland, Utrecht, and Overysse.

by the sentence of these judges that the *arminians* lost their cause, and were declared corrupters of the true religion. It must be observed, at the same time, that the doctors of Geneva who embraced the *sublapsarian* system, triumphed over their adversaries in this synod. For though the patrons of the *suplapsarian* cause were far from being contemptible either in point of number or of abilities; yet the moderation and equity of the British divines prevented the synod from giving its sanction to the opinions of that presumptuous sect. Nor indeed would even the *sublapsarians* have gained their point, or obtained to the full the accomplishment of their desires, had the doctors of Bremen, who for weighty reasons were attached to the lutherans, been able to execute their purposes.^e

XII. It is greatly to be doubted, whether this victory, gained over the arminians, was, upon the whole, advantageous or detrimental to the church of Geneva, in particular, and to the reformed church in general. It is at least certain, that, after the synod of Dort, the doctrine of absolute decrees lost ground from day to day; and its patrons were put to the hard necessity of holding fraternal communion with those whose doctrine was either professedly arminian, or at least nearly resembled it. The leaders of the vanquished arminians were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning; and being highly exasperated by the injurious and oppressive treatment they met with, in consequence of their condemnation, they defended themselves, and attacked their adversaries with such spirit and vigour, and also with such dexterity and eloquence, that multitudes were persuaded of the justice of their cause. It is particularly to be observed, that the authority of the synod of Dort was far from being universally acknowledged among the Dutch; the provinces of Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Groningen, could not be persuaded to adopt its decisions; and though, in the year 1651, they were at length gained over so far as to intimate, that they would see with pleasure the reformed religion maintained upon the footing on which it had been placed and confirmed by the synod of Dort, yet the most eminent adepts in Belgic ju-

The effects of
this schism.

^e We shall give, in the *History of the Arminians*, a list of the writers that appeared in this controversy; as also a more particular account of the transactions of the synod of Dort.

risprudence deny that this intimation has the force or character of a law.^f

In England, the face of religion changed considerably, in a very little time after the famous synod now mentioned; and this change, which was entirely in favour of *arminianism*, was principally effected by the counsels and influence of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. This revolution gave new courage to the arminians; and, from that period to the present time, they have had the pleasure of seeing the decisions and doctrines of the synod of Dort, relating to the points in debate between them and the calvinists, treated, in England, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by some with aversion, and by others with contempt.^g And, indeed, if we consider the genius and spirit of the church of England during this period, we shall plainly see, that the doctrine of the *gomarists*, concerning predestination and grace, could not meet there with a favourable reception, since the leading doctors of that church were zealous in modelling its doctrine and discipline after the sentiments and institutions that were received in the primitive times, and since those early *fathers*, whom they followed with a profound submission, had never presumed, before Augustine, to set limits to the extent of the divine grace and mercy.

The reformed churches in France seemed at first, disposed to give a favourable reception to the decisions of this famous synod; but, as these decisions were highly displeasing to the votaries of Rome among whom they lived, and kindled anew their rage against the protestants, the latter thought it their duty to be circumspect in this matter; and, in process of time, their real sentiments, and the doctrines they taught, began to differ extremely from those of the gomarists. The churches of Brandenburg and Bremen, which made a considerable figure among the *reformed* in Germany, would never suffer their doctors to be tied down to the opinions and tenets of the Dutch divines. And thus it happened, that the liberty of private judgment, with respect to the doctrines of predestination and grace, which the spirit that prevailed among the di-

^f See the very learned and illustrious president Bynkershoek's *Quæstiones Juris publici*, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

^g Sev. Lintrupii *Dissertatio de Contemptu Concilii Dordrac. in Anglia*, in *Dissert. Theologicis* Hect. Godofr. Masii, tom. i. n. xix.

vinces of Dort, seemed so much adapted to suppress or discourage, acquired rather new vigour, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of that assembly; and the reformed church was immediately divided into *universalists*, *semiuniversalists*, *supralapsarians*, and *sublapsarians*, who indeed notwithstanding their dissensions, which sometimes become violent and tumultuous, live generally in the exercise of mutual toleration, and are reciprocally restrained by many reasons from indulging a spirit of hostility and persecution. What is still more remarkable, and therefore ought not to be passed over in silence, we see the city of Geneva, which was the parent, the nurse, and the guardian of the doctrine of *absolute predestination* and *particular grace*, not only put on sentiments of charity, forbearance, and esteem for the arminians, but become itself almost so far arminian, as to deserve a place among the churches of that communion.

XIII. While the reformed churches in France yet subsisted, its doctors departed, in several points, from the common rule of faith that was received in the other churches of their communion. This, as appears from several circumstances, was, in a great measure, owing to their desire of diminishing the prejudices of the Roman catholics against them, and of getting rid of a part of the odious conclusions which were drawn by their adversaries from the doctrines of Dort, and laid to their charge with that malignity which popish bigotry so naturally inspires. Hence we find in the books that were composed by the doctors of Saumur and Sedan, after the synod of Dort, many things which seem conformable, not only to the sentiments of the lutherans, concerning *grace*, *predestination*, the *person of Christ*, and the *efficacy of the sacraments*, but also to certain peculiar opinions of the Romish church. This moderation may be dated from the year 1615, when the opinion of John Piscator, pastor at Herborn, concerning the *obedience of Christ*, was tacitly adopted, or at least pronounced free from error, by the synod of the isle of France;^b though it had been formerly condemned and rejected in several preceding assemblies, of the same nature.ⁱ Piscator maintained, that it was not

The particular tenets of the reformed churches in France.

^b Aymon, 'Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees de France,' tom. ii. p. 275, 276.

ⁱ See Aymon, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 400, 401, 457, tom. ii. p. 13. Bossuet, 'Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes,' livr. xii. tom. ii. p. 268, where this prelate,

by his obedience to the divine law that Christ made a satisfaction to that law in our stead, since this obedience was his duty, considered as a man; and therefore, being obliged to obey this law himself, his observance of it could not merit any thing for others from the Supreme Being. This opinion, as every one may see, tended to confirm the doctrine of the Romish church, concerning the *merit of good works*, the *natural power of man to obey the commands of God*, and other points of a like nature.ⁱⁱ These less important concessions were followed by others of a much more weighty and momentous kind, of which some were so erroneous, that they were highly disliked and rejected, even by those of the French protestants themselves, who were the most remarkable for their moderation, charity, and love of peace.^k

with his usual malignity and bitterness, reproaches the protestants with their inconstancy. The learned Basnage has endeavoured to defend the reformed churches against this charge, in the second volume of his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, p. 1533. But this defence is not satisfactory. ¶ To Dr. Mosheim, who speaks more than once of the reformed church and its doctors with partiality and prejudice, this defence may not appear satisfactory; it has nevertheless been judged so by many persons of uncommon discernment; and we invite the reader to judge for himself.

¶ ii It does not appear to me that any one, who looks with an unprejudiced eye, can see the least connexion between the opinion of Piscator, which I shall not here either refute or defend, and the popish doctrine which maintains the *merit of good works*; for though we are not justified, i. e. pardoned or treated as if we had not offended, in consequence of Christ's active obedience to the divine law, yet we may be so by his death and sufferings; and it is really to these, that the scriptures, in many places, ascribe our acceptance. Now a person who ascribes his acceptance and salvation to the death and mediation of Christ, does not surely give any countenance to the doctrine of the strict and rigorous merit of works, although he should not be so *sharpsighted* as to perceive the influence which certain doctors attribute to what is called Christ's *active obedience*. But let it be observed here, in a particular manner, that the opinion of Piscator is much more unfavourable to popery than our author imagined, since it overturns totally, by a direct and most natural consequence, the popish doctrine concerning *works of supererogation*, which is as monstrous an absurdity in morals, as transubstantiation is in the estimation of common sense. For if Christ, in his *universal and perfect obedience* to the divine laws, did no more than he was *morally* obliged to do by his character as a *man*, is it not absurd, if not impious, to seek in the virtue of the Romish saints, all of whom were very imperfect, and some of them very worthless mortals, an exuberance of obedience, a *superabundant* quantity of virtue, to which they were not obliged, and which they are supposed to deposit in the hands of the popes, who are empowered to distribute it, for love of money, among such as have need of it to make up their accounts?

¶ k This affirmation is groundless, and I wish it were not liable to the charge of malignity. The accusation that Dr. Mosheim brings here against the reformed churches in France is of too serious a nature not to require the most evident and circumstantial proofs. He has however alleged none, nor has he given any one instance of those *weighty and momentous concessions* that were made to popery. It was not indeed in his power either to give arguments or examples of a satisfactory kind; and it is highly probable, that the unguarded words of Elias Saurin, minister of Utrecht, in relation to the learned Lewis Le Blanc, professor of Sedan, which dropt from the pen of the former, in his *Examen de la Theologie de M. Jurieu*, are the only testimony Dr. Mosheim had to allege, in support of an accusation, which he has not limited to any one person, but inconsiderately thrown out upon the French churches in general. Those who are desirous of a full illustration of this matter, and yet have not an opportunity of consulting the original sources of information, may satisfy their curiosity by perusing the ar-

xiv. The doctors of Saumur revived a controversy, that had for some time been suspended, by their attempts to reconcile the doctrine of predestination, as it had been taught at Geneva, and confirmed, at Dort, with the sentiments of those who represent the Deity as offering the displays of his goodness and mercy to all mankind. The first person, who made this fruitless attempt, was John Cameron, whose sentiments were supported and further illustrated by Moses Amyraut, a man of uncommon sagacity and erudition. The latter applied himself, from the year 1634, with unparalleled zeal, to this arduous work, and displayed in it extraordinary exertions of capacity and genius; and so ardently was he bent on bringing it into execution, that he made, for this purpose, no small changes in the doctrine commonly received among the reformed in France. The form of doctrine he had struck out, in order to accomplish this important reconciliation, may be briefly summed up in the following propositions; "That God *desires* the happiness of all men, and that no mortal is excluded, *by any divine decree*, from the benefits that are procured by the death, sufferings, and gospel of Christ;

The controversy excited by the hypothetical universalists.

"That however none can be made a partaker of the blessings of the gospel, and of eternal salvation, unless he *believe* in Jesus Christ;

"That such indeed is the immense and universal goodness of the Supreme Being, that he *refuses* to *none* the power of *believing*; though he does not grant unto *all* his assistance and succour, that they may wisely improve this power to the attainment of everlasting salvation;

"And that, in consequence of this, multitudes perish, through their own fault, and not from any want of goodness in God."¹

articles of Beaulieu and Amyraut, in Bayle's *Dictionary*; and the articles Pajon and Papin, in M. de Chauffepied's supplement to that work. Any concessions that seem to have been made by the protestant doctors in France to their adversaries, consisted in giving an arminian turn to some of the more rigid tenets of Calvin, relating to *original sin*, *predestination*, and *grace*; and this turn would undoubtedly have been given to these doctrines, had popery been out of the question. But these concessions are not certainly what our historian had in view; nor would he, in effect, have treated such concessions as erroneous.

¹ See Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri *Historia Eccles. et Politica, sæculi xvii. Decenn. iv. p. 522.*

☞ This mitigated view of the doctrine of predestination has only one defect; but it is a capital one. It represents God as *desiring* a thing, i. e. salvation and happiness, for *all*, which, in order to its attainment, requires a *degree* of his assistance and succour, which he *refuseth* to *many*. This rendered grace and redemption *universal only* in words, but *partial* in reality; and therefore did not at all mend the matter. The su-

Those who embraced this doctrine were called *universalists*, because they represented God as willing to show mercy to *all* mankind ; and *hypothetical universalists*, because the *condition* of faith in Christ was necessary to render them the objects of this mercy. It is the opinion of many, that this doctrine differs but little from that which was established by the synod of Dort ; but such do not seem to have attentively considered either the principles from whence it is derived, or the consequences to which it leads. The more I examine this reconciling system, the more I am persuaded, that it is no more than arminianism or pelagianism artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half transparent veil of specious, but ambiguous expressions ; and this judgment is confirmed by the language that is used in treating this subject by the modern followers of Amyraut, who express their sentiments with more courage, plainness, and perspicuity, than the spirit of the times permitted their master to do. A cry was raised, in several French synods, against the doctrine of Amyraut ; but, after it had been carefully examined by *them*, and defended by *him*, at their public meetings, with his usual eloquence and erudition, he was honourably acquitted.^m The opposition he met with from Holland was still more formidable, as it came from the learned and celebrated pens of Rivet, Spanheim, Des Marets, and other adversaries of note ; he nevertheless answered them with great spirit and vigour, and his cause was powerfully supported afterward by Daille, Blondel, Mestrezat, and Claude.ⁿ This controversy was carried on, for a long time, with great animosity and little fruit to those who opposed the opinions of the French in-

pralapsarians were consistent with themselves, but their doctrine was harsh and terrible, and was founded on the most unworthy notions of the Supreme Being ; and, on the other hand, the system of Amyraut was full of inconsistencies ; nay, even the *sublapsarian* doctrine has its difficulties, and rather palliates, than removes the horrors of *supralapsarianism*. What then is to be done ? from what quarter shall the candid and well disposed christian receive that solid satisfaction and wise direction, which neither of these systems is adapted to administer ? These he will receive by turning his dazzled and feeble eye from the secret decrees of God, which were neither designed to be *rules of action* nor *sources* of comfort to mortals here below ; and by fixing his view upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ, the pure laws and sublime promises of his gospel, and the respectable equity of his present government and his future tribunal.

^m See Aynon, 'Aetes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees en France,' tom. ii. p. 571, p. 604. Blondel, 'Aetes Authentiques des Eglises Reformees touchant la paix et la charite fraternelle,' p. 19—82, edit. of Amsterdam, published in 4to. in the year 1655.

ⁿ Bayle's *Dictionary*, vol. i. at the articles Amyraut and Blondel ; and vol. ii. at the article Daille. See Christ. Pfaffius, *De formula consensu*, cap. i. p. 4.

novator. For the sentiments of Amyraut were not only received in all the universities of the hugonots in France, and adopted by divines of the highest note in that nation, but also spread themselves as far as Geneva, and were afterward disseminated by the French protestants, who fled from the rage of persecution, through all the reformed churches of Europe. And they now are so generally received, that few have the courage to oppose or decry them.

xv. The desire of mitigating certain doctrines of the reformed church, that drew upon it the heaviest censures from both the Roman catholics and some protestant communions, was the true origin of the opinion propagated, in the year 1640, by De la Place, concerning the imputation of original sin. This divine, who was the intimate friend of Amyraut, and his colleague at Saumur, rejected the opinion generally received in the schools of the reformed, that *the personal and actual transgression of the first man is imputed to his posterity*. He maintained, on the contrary, that God imputes to every man his natural corruption, his personal guilt, and his propensity to sin ; or, to speak in the theological style, he affirmed, that *original sin is indirectly and not directly imputed to mankind*. This opinion was condemned as erroneous, in the year 1642, by the synod of Charenton, and many Dutch and Helvetic doctors of great name set themselves to refute it ;^o while the love of peace and union prevented its author from defending it in a public and open manner.^p But neither the sentence of the synod, nor the silence of De la Place, could hinder this sentiment from making a deep impression on the minds of many, who looked upon it as conformable to the plainest dictates of justice and equity ; nor could they prevent its being transmitted, with the French exiles, into other countries.

The contests occasioned by De la Place and Cappel.

In the class of those who, to diminish or avoid the resentment of the papists, made concessions inconsistent with truth, and detrimental to the purity of the protestant religion, many place Lewis Cappel, professor at Saumur, who, in a voluminous and elaborate work,^q undertook to

^o Aymon, *Synodes des Eglises Reformees de France*, tom. ii. p. 680.

^p Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xvii.* p. 817.

^q This work, which is entitled, *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, is still extant, with its *Vindiciæ*, in the works of Cappel, printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1689, in folio, and in the *Critica Sacra* V. T. published in folio at Paris, 1650.

prove that the Hebrew points were not used by the sacred writers, and were a modern invention added to the text by the masorethes.^r It is at least certain, that this hypothesis was highly agreeable to the votaries of Rome, and seemed manifestly adapted to diminish the authority of the holy scriptures, and to put them upon a level with oral tradition, if not to render their decision still less respectable and certain.^s On these accounts, the system of this famous professor was opposed, with the most ardent efforts of erudition and zeal, by several doctors both of the reformed and lutheran churches, who were eminent for their knowledge of the Hebrew language, and their acquaintance with oriental learning in general.^t

xvi. Though these great men gave offence to many, by the freedom and novelty of their sentiments, yet Lewis le Blanc. they had the approbation and esteem of the greatest part of the reformed churches; and the equity of succeeding generations removed the aspersions that envy had thrown upon them during their lives, and made ample amends for the injuries they had received from several of their contemporaries. This was far from being the case of those doctors who either openly attempted to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between the reformed and Romish churches, or explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner as lessened the difference between the two communions, and thereby rendered the passage from the former to the latter less disgusting and painful. The attempts of these peacemakers were looked upon as odious, and in the issue they proved utterly unsuccessful. The most eminent of these reconciling doctors were Lewis le Blanc, professor at Sedan, and Claude Pajon, minister of Orleans,^u who were both remarkable for

^r It was also Cappel who affirmed, that the characters which compose the Hebrew text, were those that the Chaldeans used after the Babylonish captivity, the Jews having always made use of the Samaritan characters before that period.

^s This absurd notion of the tendency of Cappel's hypothesis is now hissed almost entirely out of the learned world. Be that as it may, the hypothesis in question is by no means peculiar to Cappel; it was adopted by Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, the three great pillars of the reformation; as also by Munster, Olivetau, Masius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Drusius, De Dien, Walton, and Bochart, those eminent men, who have cast such light on sacred philology; so that Cappel had only the merit of supporting it by new arguments, and placing it in a striking and luminous point of view.

^t See B. Jo. Christ. Wolfii *Biblioth. Hebraica*, p. ii. p. 27.

^u It is difficult to conceive, what could engage Dr. Mosheim to place Pajon in the class of those who explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner, as to diminish the difference between the doctrine of the reformed and Romish churches. Pajon was indeed a moderate divine, and leaned somewhat toward the arminian sys-

the persuasive power of their eloquence, and discovered an uncommon degree of penetration and sagacity in their writings and negotiations. The former passed in review many of the controversies that divide the two churches, and seemed to prove, with the utmost perspicuity; that some of them were merely disputes about words, and that the others were of much less consequence than was generally imagined.^w This manner of stating the differences between the two churches drew upon Le Blanc the indignation of those, who looked upon all attempts to soften and modify controverted doctrines as dangerous and detrimental to the cause of truth.^x On the other hand, the acuteness and dexterity with which he treated this nice matter, made a considerable impression upon several persons, and procured him disciples, who still entertain his reconciling sentiments, but either conceal them entirely, or discover them with caution, as they are known to be displeasing to the greatest part of the members of both communions.

xvii. The modifications under which Pajon exhibited some of the doctrines of the reformed church, Claude Pajon were also extremely offensive and unpopular. This ecclesiastic applied the principles and tenets of the cartesian philosophy, of which he was a warm and able defender, in explaining the opinions of that church relating to the corruption of human nature, the state of its moral faculties and powers, the grace of God, and the conversion of sinners; and, in the judgment of many, he gave an erroneous interpretation of these opinions. It is indeed very difficult to determine what were the real sentiments of this man; nor is it easy to say, whether this difficulty be most owing to the affected obscurity and ambiguity under which he disguised them, or to the inaccuracy with which his adversaries, through negligence or malignity, have represented them. If we may give credit to the latter, his doctrine amounts to the following propositions: "That the corruption of man is less, and his natural power to

tem; and this propensity was not uncommon among the French protestants. But few doctors of this time wrote with more learning, zeal, and judgment, against popery, than Claude Pajon, as appears from his excellent treatise against Nicole, entitled, *Examen du Livre, qui porte pour titre prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes*.

^w In his *Thesis Theologicae*, which have passed through several editions, and are highly worthy of an attentive perusal. They were twice printed at London.

^x See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Beaulieu.

amend his ways greater, than is generally imagined ; that *original sin* lies in the *understanding* alone, and consists principally in the obscurity and imperfection of our ideas of divine things ; that this imperfection of the human understanding has a pernicious influence upon the *will*, excites in it vicious propensities, and thus leads it to sinful actions ; that this internal disorder is healed, not by the mere efforts of our *natural faculties* and powers, but by the assistance and *energy* of the *Holy Spirit*, operating upon the mind by the *divine word* as its *mean* or instrument ; that however this word is not endowed with any divine intrinsic energy, either *natural* or *supernatural*, but only with a *moral influence*, i. e. that it corrects and improves the understanding, in the same manner as human truth does, even by imparting clear and distinct notions of spiritual and divine things, and furnishing solid arguments for the truth and divinity of the christian religion, and its perfect conformity with the dictates of right reason ; and that, of consequence, every man, if no internal or external impediments destroy or suspend the exertion of his natural powers and faculties, may, by the *use of his own reason*, and a careful and assiduous *study of the revealed will of God* be enabled to correct what is amiss in his sentiments, affections, and actions, *without any extraordinary assistance from the Holy Ghost.*"^y

Such is the account of the opinions of Pajon that is given by his adversaries. On the other hand, if we take our ideas of his doctrine from himself, we shall find this account disingenuous and erroneous. Pajon intimates plainly his assent to the doctrines that were confirmed by the synod of Dort, and that are contained in the catechisms and confessions of faith of the reformed churches ; he complains that his doctrine has been ill understood or wilfully perverted ; and he observes, that he did not deny entirely an *immediate operation of the Holy Spirit* on the minds of those that are really converted to God, but only such an *immediate operation* as was not accompanied with the ministry and efficacy of the divine word ; or, to express the matter in other terms, he declared that he could not adopt the sentiments of those who represent that *word* as

^y Fred. Spanheim, *Append. ad Elenchum Controversiar.* tom. iii. opp. p. 882. Jurieu, *Traité de la Nature et de la Grace*, p. 35. Val. Ern. Loscheri *Exercit. de Claud. Pajonii ejusque sectator. doctrina et fatis.* Lips. 1692.

no more than an *instrument* void of intrinsic efficacy, a mere external sign of an immediate operation of the Spirit of God.² This last declaration is however both obscure and captious. Be that as it may, Pajon concludes by observing, that we ought not to dispute about the *manner* in which the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of men, but content ourselves with acknowledging, that he is the true and original author of all that is good in the affections of our heart, and the actions that proceed from them. Notwithstanding these declarations, the doctrine of this learned and ingenious ecclesiastic was not only looked upon as heterodox by some of the most eminent divines of the reformed church, but was also condemned, in the year 1677, by several synods in France, and, in 1686, by a synod assembled at Rotterdam.

XVIII. This controversy, which seemed to be brought to a conclusion by the death of Pajon, was revived, or rather continued, by Isaac Papin, his nephew, Papin. a native of Blois, who, by his writings and travels, was highly instrumental in communicating to England, Holland, and Germany, the contagion of these unhappy debates. This ecclesiastic expressed his sentiments without ambiguity or reserve, and propagated every where the doctrine of his uncle, which, according to his crude and harsh manner of representing it, he reduced to the two following propositions:

“That the natural powers and faculties of man are more than sufficient to lead him to the knowledge of divine truth;

“That, in order to produce that amendment of the heart, which is called *regeneration*, nothing more is requisite than to put the body, if its habit is bad, into a sound state by the power of physic, and then to set truth and falsehood before the *understanding*, and virtue and vice before the *will*, in their genuine colours, clearly and distinctly, so as that their nature and properties may be fully apprehended.”

This and the other opinions of Papin were refuted, with a considerable degree of acrimony, in the year 1686,

² All these declarations made by Pajon may be seen in a confession of his faith, supposed to have been drawn up by himself, and published by the learned M. de Chauffepied, in his *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 164, in note c of the article Le Cene.

by the famous Jurieu, professor of divinity and pastor of the French church at Rotterdam, and they were condemned the year following by the synod of Boisleduc. In the year 1688, they were condemned, with still greater marks of severity, by the French synod at the Hague, where a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against their author. Exasperated at these proceedings, Papin returned into France in the year 1690, where he abjured publicly the protestant religion, and embraced the communion of the church of Rome, in which he died in the year 1709.^a It has been affirmed by some, that this ingenious man was treated with great rigour and injustice; and that his theological opinions were unfaithfully represented by his violent and unrelenting adversary, Jurieu, whose warmth and impetuosity in religious controversy are well known. How far this affirmation may be supported by evidence, we cannot pretend to determine. A doctrine, something like that of Pajon, was maintained in several treatises, in the year 1684, by Charles le Cene, a

Le Cene.

French divine of uncommon learning and sagacity, who gave a new and very singular translation of the bible.^b But he entirely rejected the doctrine of *original sin*, and of the importance of human nature; and asserted, that it was in every man's power to amend his ways, and arrive at a state of obedience and virtue, by the mere use of his natural faculties, and an attentive study of the divine word; more especially, if these were seconded by the advantage of a good education, and the influence of virtuous examples. Hence several divines pretend that his doctrine is, in many respects, different from that of Pajon.^c

xix. The church of England had, for a long time, resembled a ship tossed on a boisterous and tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the *papists* on the one hand, and the discontents and remonstrances of the *puritans* on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment. When, on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, these latter conceived the warmest hopes of seeing more serene and prosperous days, and of

The state of the church of England under James I.

^a See Jurieu *De la Nature et de la Grace*. Molleri *Cimbria Literat.* tom. li. p. 608.

^b This translation was published at Amsterdam in the year 1741, and was condemned by the French synod in Holland.

^c See the learned and laborious M. Chauffepied's *Nouv. Diction. Hist. et Critiq.* tom. ii. p. 169, at the article Le Cene.

being delivered from the vexations and oppressions they were constantly exposed to, on account of their attachment to the discipline and worship of the church of Geneva. These hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received his education in Scotland, where the *puritans* prevailed, and had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution.^d And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage these hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character and office of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the puritans.^e But these expectations soon vanished, and, under the government of James, things put on a new face. As the desire of unlimited power and authority was the reigning passion in the heart of this monarch, so all his measures, whether of a civil or religious nature, were calculated to answer the purposes of his ambition. The *presbyterian* form of ecclesiastical government seemed less

¶ ^d In a general assembly held at Edinburgh, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be the king of the sincerest, i. e. *purest*, kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule, i. e. *Easter* and *Christmas*. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings, i. e. *the elevation of the host*. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 256.

¶ ^e The religious disputes between the church and the puritans induced James to appoint a conference between the two parties at Hampton Court; at which nine bishops, and as many dignitaries of the church, appeared on the one side, and four puritan ministers on the other. The king himself took a considerable part in the controversy against the latter; and this was an occupation well adapted to his taste; for nothing could be more pleasing to this royal pedant, than to dictate magisterially to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and to receive the applauses of these holy men for his superior zeal and learning. The conference continued three days. The first day it was held between the king and the bishops and deans, to whom James proposed some objections against certain expressions in the liturgy, and a few alterations in the ritual of the church; in consequence of which, some slight alterations were made. The two following days the puritans were admitted, whose proposals and remonstrances may be seen in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 15. Dr. Warner, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, observes, that this author must be read with caution, on account of his unfairness and partiality; why therefore did he not take his account of the Hampton Court conference from a better source? The different accounts of the opposite parties, and more particularly those published by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, on the one hand, and Patrick Galloway, a Scots writer, on the other, both of whom were present at the conference, must be carefully consulted, in order to our forming a proper idea of these theological transactions. James at least obtained, on this occasion, the applause he had in view. The archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, said, "That undoubtedly his Majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit;" and Bancroft, falling on his knees, with his eyes raised to—James, expressed himself thus: "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time has not been."

favourable to his views than the *episcopal hierarchy*; as the former exhibits a kind of *republic* which is administered by various rulers of equal authority; while the latter approaches much nearer to the spirit and genius of *monarchy*. The very name of a *republic*, *synod*, or *council*, was odious to James, who dreaded every thing that had a popular aspect; hence he distinguished the bishops with peculiar marks of his favour, extended their authority, increased their prerogatives, and publicly adopted and inculcated the following maxim, *No bishop, no king*. At the same time, as the church of England had not yet abandoned the calvinistical doctrines of *predestination* and *grace*, he also adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives, in the synod of Dort, an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius in relation to these deep and intricate points. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of remarkable gravity,¹ and eminent

¶ Lord Clarendon says, in his history of the rebellion, that “Abbot was a man of very morose manners, and of a very sower aspect, which at that time was called *gravity*.” If, in general, we strike a medium between what Clarendon and Neal say of this prelate, we shall probably arrive at the true knowledge of his character. See the *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 88, and Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 243, it is certain, that nothing can be more unjust and partial than Clarendon’s account of this eminent prelate, particularly when he says, that *he neither understood nor regarded the constitution of the church*. But it is too much the custom of this writer, and others of his stamp, to give the denomination of latitudinarian indifference to that charity, prudence, and moderation, by which alone the *best interests* of the church, though not the personal views of many of its ambitious members, can be established upon firm and permanent foundations. Abbot would have been reckoned a good churchman by some, if he had breathed that spirit of despotism and violence, which, being essentially incompatible with the spirit and character of a people, not only free, but jealous of their liberty, has often endangered the church, by exciting that resentment which always renders opposition excessive. Abbot was so far from being indifferent about the *constitution of the church*, or inclined to the *presbyterian discipline*, as this noble author affirms in his *History of the Rebellion*, that it was by his zeal and dexterity that the clergy of Scotland, who had refused to admit the bishops as moderators in their church synods, were brought to a more tractable temper, and things put into such a situation as afterward produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It is true, that Abbot’s zeal in this affair was conducted with great prudence and moderation, and it was by these that his zeal was rendered successful. Nor have these his transactions in Scotland, where he went as chaplain to the lord high treasurer Dunbar, been sufficiently attended to by historians; nay, they seem to have been entirely unknown to some, who have pretended to depreciate the conduct and principles of this virtuous and excellent prelate. King James, who had been so zealous a presbyterian, in appearance, before his accession to the crown of England, had scarcely set his foot out of Scotland, when he conceived the design of restoring the ancient form of episcopal government in that kingdom: and it was Abbot’s transactions there that brought him to that high favour with the king, which, in the space of little more than three years, raised him from the deanery of Winchester to the see of Canterbury. For it was by Abbot’s mild and prudent counsels, that Dunbar procured that famous act of the general assembly of Scotland, by which it was provided, “that the king should have the calling of all general assemblies; that the bishops, or their deputies, should be perpetual moderators of the diocesan synods; that no excommunication should be pronounced without their approbation; that all presentations of benefices should be made by them; that the deprivation or suspension of ministers should belong to them; that the visitation of the diocese should be performed by the bishop

zeal, both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity toward their ancestors the *puritans* still celebrate in the highest strains,^g used his utmost endeavours to confirm the king in the principles of calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of Dort, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted, and the doctrines that had been established by that famous assembly, than the king, together with the greatest part of the episcopal clergy, discovered, in the strongest terms, their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Gomarus and Calvin.^h This sudden and unexpected change in the the-

or his deputy only; and that the bishop should be moderator of all conventions for exercising or prophesyings, i. e. preaching, within their bounds." See Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 1680, 588, 589. Heylen's *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 381, 382, and, above all, Speed's *History of Great Britain*, book x. fol. 1227. The writers who seem the least disposed to speak favourably of this wise and good prelate, bear testimony nevertheless to his eminent piety, his exemplary conversation, and his inflexible probity and integrity; and it may be said with truth, that, if his moderate measures had been pursued, the liberties of England would have been secured, popery discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses which afterward proved so fatal to it. If Abbot's candour failed him on any occasion, it was in the representations, which his rigid attachment, not to the discipline, but to the doctrinal tenets of calvinism, led him to give of the arminian doctors. There is a remarkable instance of this in a letter of his to sir Ralph Winwood, dated at Lambeth, the 1st of June, 1613, and occasioned by the arrival of Grotius in England, who had been expressly sent from Holland, by the remonstrants or arminians, to mitigate the king's displeasure and antipathy against that party. In this letter, the archbishop represents Grotius, with whom he certainly was not worthy to be named, either in point of learning, sagacity, or judgment, as a *pedant*; and mentions, with a high degree of complaisance and approbation, the absurd and impertinent judgment of some civilians and divines, who called this immortal ornament of the republic of letters, a *smaller* and a *simple fellow*. See Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459. -

^g See Anton. Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 583. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* vol. i.

^h See Heylen's *History of the Five Articles*. Neal, *ibid.* vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 117. This latter author tells us, that the following verses were made in England, with a design to pour contempt on the synod of Dort, and to turn its proceedings into ridicule;

"Dordrecht Synodus, Nodus; Chorus Integer, Æger;
Coventus, Ventus; Sessio, Stramen. Amen!"

With respect to James, those who are desirous of forming a just idea of the character, proceedings, and theological fickleness and inconstancy of that monarch, must peruse the writer of English history, more especially Larrey and Rapin Thoyras. The greatest part of these writers tell us, that, toward the latter end of his days, James, after having deserted from the calvinists to the arminians, began to discover a singular propensity toward popery; and they affirm positively, that he entertained the most ardent desire of bringing about a union between the church of England and the church of Rome. In this however these writers seem to have gone too far; for

^g * It would be a difficult, nay, an unsurmountable task, to justify all the proceedings of the synod of Dort; and it were much to be wished, that they had been more conformable to the spirit of christian charity, than the representations of history, impartially weighed, show them to have been. We are not however to conclude, from the insipid monkish lines here quoted by Dr. Mosheim, that the transactions and decisions of that synod were universally condemned or despised in England. It had its partisans in the established church, as well as among the puritans; and its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the 'Book of Articles established by law in the church of England.'

ological opinions of the court and clergy, was certainly owing to a variety of reasons, as will appear evident to those who have any acquaintance with the spirit and transactions of these times. The principal one, if we are not deceived, must be sought in the plains of a further reformation of the church of England, that were proposed by several eminent ecclesiastics, whose intention was to bring it to as near a resemblance as was possible of the primitive church. And every one knows, that the peculiar doctrines, to which the victory was assigned by the synod of Dort, were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the christian church.¹ Be that as it may, this change was fatal to the interests of the *puritans*; for, the king being indisposed to the opinions and institutions of calvinism, the pu-

though many of the proceedings of this injudicious prince deserve justly the sharpest censure, yet it is both rash and unjust to accuse him of a design to introduce popery into England. It is not to be believed, that a prince, who aspired after arbitrary power and uncontrolled dominion, could ever have entertained a thought of submitting to the yoke of the Roman pontiff.* The truth of the matter seems to be this, that, toward the latter end of his reign, James began to have less aversion to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, and permitted certain religious observances, that were conformable to the spirit of that church, to be used in England. This conduct was founded upon a manner of reasoning, which he had learned from several bishops of his time, viz. that the primitive church is the model which all christian churches ought to imitate in doctrine and worship; that, in proportion as any church approaches to this primitive standard of truth and purity, it must become proportionably pure and perfect; and that the Romish church retained more of the *spirit* and *manner* of the primitive church than the puritan or calvinist churches. ¶ Of these three propositions, the two first are undoubtedly true, and the last is as evidently and demonstrably false. Beside, this makes nothing to the argument; for as James had a manifest aversion to the puritans, it could, in his eyes, be no very great recommendation of the Romish church, that it surpassed that of the puritans in doctrine and discipline.

¶ Dr. Mosheim has annexed the following note to this passage; "Perhaps the king entered into these ecclesiastical proceedings with the more readiness, when he reflected on the civil commotions and tumults that an attachment to the *presbyterian* religion had occasioned in Scotland. There are also some circumstances that intimate plainly enough, that James, before his accession to the crown of England, was very far from having an aversion to popery." Thus far the note of our author, and whoever looks into the *Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617, extracted from the MSS. State Papers of sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq.* and published in the year 1749, by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded, that, toward the year 1595, this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed a design to embrace the faith of Rome. See, in the curious collection now mentioned, the *postscript* of a letter from sir Thomas Edmondes to the lord high treasurer, dated the 20th of December, 1595. We learn also, from the *Memoirs* of sir Ralph Winwood, that, in the year 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots baron, into Spain, to assure his catholic majesty, that he was then ready and resolved to embrace popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the pope against the queen of England. See *State Tracts*, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D. D. dean of Durham, to the lord treasurer Burleigh, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris's *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I.* p. 29, note (N.) This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin, who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self sufficient monarch.

* This remark is confuted by fact, observation, and the perpetual contradictions that are observable in the conduct of men; beside, see the note i.

ritans were left without defence, and exposed anew to the animosity and hatred of their adversaries, which had been, for some time, suspended; but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression. In the year 1625, died James I. the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent patron of the arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds.

xx. His son and successor Charles I. who had imbibed his political and religious principles, had nothing so much at heart as to bring to perfection what his father had left unfinished. All the exertions of his zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed toward the three following objects; "The extending the royal prerogative and raising the power of the crown above the authority of the law; the reduction of all the churches in Great Britain and Ireland under the jurisdiction of bishops, whose government he looked upon as of divine institution, and also as the most adapted to guard the privileges and majesty of the throne; and lastly, the suppression of the opinions and institutions that were peculiar to calvinism, and the modelling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and polity of the church of England, after the spirit and constitution of the primitive church." The person whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud, bishop of London, who was afterward raised, in the year 1633, to the see of Canterbury, and exhibited, in these high stations. a mixed character, composed of great qualities and great defects. The voice of justice must celebrate his erudition, his fortitude, his ingenuity, his zeal for the sciences, and his munificence and liberality to men of letters; and at the same time, even charity must acknowledge with regret, his inexcusable imprudence, his excessive superstition, his rigid attachment to the sentiments, rites, and institutions

The state of
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of the ancient church, which made him behold the puritans and calvinists with horror;^k and that violent spirit of animosity and persecution, that discovered itself in the whole course of his ecclesiastical administration.^l This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand; when he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation; he loaded the puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction; he rejected the calvinistical doctrine of predestination publicly in the year 1625; and, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of Abbot, substituted the arminian system in its place;^m he revived many

^k See Ant. Wool. *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. ii. p. 55. Heylin's *Cyprianus*, or the *History of the Life and Death of William Laud*, published at London in 1668. Clarendon's *History*, vol. i.

^l "Sincere he undoubtedly was," says Mr. Hume, "and however misguided, actuated by religious principles in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprises with such warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of human society."

^m See Mich. le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* tom. v. p. 262.

☞ This expression may lead the uninformed reader into a mistake, and make him imagine that Laud had caused the calvinistical doctrine of the xxxix. Articles to be abrogated, and the tenets of Arminius to be substituted in their place. It may therefore be proper to set this matter in a clearer light. In the year 1625. Laud wrote a small treatise to prove the orthodoxy of the arminian doctrines; and, by his credit with the duke of Buckingham, had arminian and antipuritanical chaplains placed about the king. This step increased the debates between the calvinistical and arminian doctors, and produced the warmest animosities and dissensions. To calm these, the king issued out a proclamation, dated the 14th of January 1626, the literal tenor of which was, in truth, more favourable to the calvinists than to the arminians, though, by the manner in which it was interpreted and executed by Laud, it was turned to the advantage of the latter. In this proclamation it was said expressly "that his majesty would admit of no innovations in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the church;" (N. B. *The doctrine of the church previously to this, was calvinistical*;) "and therefore charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions, contrary to the said doctrine and discipline established by law," &c. It was certainly a very singular instance of Laud's indecent partiality, that this proclamation was employed to suppress the books that were expressly written in the defence of the xxxix. Articles, while the writings of the arminians, who certainly opposed these articles, were publicly licensed. I do not here enter into the merits of the cause; I only speak of the tenor of the proclamation, and the manner of its execution.

This manner of proceeding showed how difficult and arduous a thing it is to change systems of doctrine established by law, since neither Charles, who was by no means diffident of his authority, nor Laud, who was far from being timorous in the use and abuse of it, attempted to reform articles of faith, that stood in direct opposition to the arminian doctrines, which they were now promoting by the warmest encouragements, and which were daily gaining ground under their protection. Instead of reforming the xxxix. Articles, which step would have met with great opposition from the house of commons, and from a considerable part of the clergy and laity, who were still warmly attached to calvinism, Laud advised the king to have these articles reprinted,

religious rites and ceremonies, which, though stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were nevertheless marked with the turpitude of superstition, and had been justly abrogated on that account; he forced bishops upon the Scots nation, which was zealously attached to the discipline and ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, and had shown, on all occasions, the greatest reluctance against an episcopal government; and lastly, he gave many and very plain intimations, that he looked upon the Romish church, with all its errors, as more pure, more holy, and preferable upon the whole, to those protestant churches that were not subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. By these his unpopu-

with an ambiguous *declaration* prefixed to them, which might tend to silence or discourage the reigning controversies between the calvinists and arminians, and thus secure to the latter an unmolested state, in which they would daily find their power growing under the countenance and protection of the court. This *declaration*, which, in most editions of the Common Prayer, is still to be found at the head of the articles, is a most curious piece of political theology: and had it not borne hard upon the right of private judgment, and been evidently designed to favour one party, though it carried the aspect of a perfect neutrality, it might have been looked upon as a wise and provident measure to secure the tranquillity of the church. For, in the tenor of this *declaration*, precision was sacrificed to prudence and ambiguity, nay, even contradictions were preferred before consistent, clear, and positive decisions, that might have fomented dissensions and discord. The *declaration* seemed to favour the calvinists, since it prohibited the *affixing any new sense to any article*; it also favoured in effect the arminians, as it ordered all curious search about the contested points to be *laid aside, and these disputes to be shut up in God's promises, as they are generally set forth to us in the holy scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles of the church of England according to them*. But what was singularly preposterous in this *declaration* was, its being designed to favour the arminians, and yet prohibiting expressly any person, either in their sermons or writings, to *put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, and ordering them, on the contrary to take each article in its literal and grammatical sense, and to submit to it in the full and plain meaning thereof*; for certainly if the seventeenth article has a plain, literal, and grammatical meaning, it is a meaning unfavourable to arminianism; and bishop Burnet was obliged afterward to acknowledge, that without enlarging the sense of the articles, the arminians could not subscribe them consistently with their opinions, nor without violating the demands of common ingenuity. See Burnet's *Remarks on the Examination of his Exposition*, &c. p. 3.

This renders it probable, that the *declaration* now mentioned, in which we see no royal signature, no attestation of any officer of the crown, no date, in short, no mark to show where, when, or by what authority it was issued out, was not composed in the reign of king Charles. Bishop Burnet indeed was of opinion, that it was composed in that reign to support the arminians, who, when they were charged with departing from the true sense of the articles, answered, "that they took the articles in their *literal and grammatical sense*, and therefore did not prevaricate." But this reasoning does not appear conclusive to the acute and learned author of the *Confessional*. He thinks it more probable, that the *declaration* was composed, and first published, in the latter part of king James's reign: for though, says he, there be no evidence that James ever turned Arminian in principle, yet that was the party that stuck to him in his measures, and which it became necessary for him on that account to humour, and to render respectable in the eyes of the people by every expedient that might not bring any reflection on his own consistency. "And whoever," continues this author, "considers the quibbling and equivocal terms in which this instrument is drawn, will, I am persuaded, observe the distress of a man divided between his *principles*, and his *interests*, that is, of a man exactly in the situation of king James I. in the three last years of his reign." It is likely then, that this *declaration* was only republished at the head of the articles which were reprinted by the order of Charles I.

lar sentiments and violent measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in the year 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head on a scaffold ; which sentence was accordingly executed.

After the death of Laud, the dissensions that had reigned for a long time between the king and parliament, grew still more violent, and arose at length to so great a height, that they could not be extinguished but by the blood of that excellent prince. The great council of the nation, heated by the violent suggestions of the *puritans* and *independents*,^a abolished episcopal government ; condemned and abrogated every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment that was contrary to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Geneva ; turned the vehemence of their opposition against the king himself, and having brought him into their power by the fate of arms, accused him of treason against the majesty of the nation ; and, in the year 1648, while the eyes of Europe were fixed with astonishment on this strange spectacle, caused his head to be struck off on a public scaffold. Such are the calamities that flow from religious zeal without knowledge, from that enthusiasm and bigotry that inspire a blind and immoderate attachment to the external and unessential parts of religion, and to certain doctrines ill understood ! These broils and tumults served also unhappily to confirm the truth of an observation often made, that all religious sects, while they are kept under and oppressed, are remarkable for inculcating the duties of moderation, forbearance, and charity toward those who dissent from them ; but, as soon as the scenes of persecution are removed, and they, in their turn, arrive at power and pre-eminence, they forget their own precepts and maxims, and leave both the recommendation and practice of charity to those that groan under their yoke. Such, in reality, was the conduct and behaviour of the *puritans* during their transitory exaltation ; they showed as little clemency and equity to the bishops and other patrons of episcopacy, as they had received from them when the reins of government were in their hands.^o

^a The origin of this sect has been already mentioned.

^o Besides Clarendon and the other writers of English history already mentioned, see Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. and iii.

XXI. The *independents*, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord in England, are generally represented by the British writers in ^{The independ-} a much worse light than the *presbyterians* or calvinists. They are commonly accused of various enormities, and are even charged with the crime of parricide, as having borne a principal part in the death of the king. But whoever will be at the pains of examining, with impartiality and attention, the writings of that sect, and their confession of faith, must soon perceive, that many crimes have been imputed to them without foundation, and will probably be induced to think, that the bold attempts of the *civil independents*, i. e. of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wanted to extend the liberty of the people beyond all bounds of wisdom and prudence, have been unjustly laid to the charge of those *independents*, whose principles were merely of a religious kind.^p The religious *independents* derive their denomina-

^p The sect of the *independents* is of recent date, and still subsists in England; there is nevertheless not one, either of the ancient or modern sects of christians, that is less known, or has been more loaded with groundless aspersions and reproaches. The most eminent English writers, not only among the patrons of Episcopacy, but even among those very *presbyterians* with whom they are now united, have thrown out against them the bitterest accusations and the severest invectives that the warmest indignation could invent. They have not only been represented as delirious, mad, fanatical, illiterate, factious, and ignorant, both of natural and revealed religion, but also as abandoned to all kinds of wickedness and sedition, and as the only authors of the odious parricide committed on the person of Charles I.* And as the authors who have given these representations are considered by foreigners as the best and most authentic relaters of the transactions that have passed in their own country, and are therefore followed as the surest guides, the *independents* appear, almost every where, under the most unfavourable aspect. It must indeed be candidly acknowledged, that as every class and order of men consists of persons of very different characters and qualities, so also the sect of *independents* has been dishonoured by several turbulent, factious, profligate, and flagitious members. But, if it is a constant maxim with the wise and prudent, not to judge of the spirit and principles of a sect from the actions or expressions of a handful of its members, but from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of those who compose it, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public and avowed forms of doctrine and confessions of faith; then, I make no doubt, but that, by this rule of estimating matters, the *independents* will appear to have been unjustly loaded with so many accusations and reproaches.

We shall take no notice of the invidious and severe animadversions that have been made upon this religious community by Clarendon, Echard, Parker, and so many other writers. To set this whole matter in the clearest and most impartial light, we shall confine ourselves to the account of the *independents* given by a writer, justly celebrated by the English themselves, and who, though a foreigner, is generally supposed to have had an accurate knowledge of the British nation, its history, its parties, its sects, and revolutions. This writer is Rapin Thoyras, who, in the twenty-first book of his *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 514, edit. folio, represents the *independents* under such horrid co-

* Durell, whom nevertheless Lewis de Moulin, the most zealous defender of the *independent*, commends on account of his ingenuity and candour, in his *Historia Rituum Sancte Ecclesie Anglicanae*, cap. i. p. 4. expresses himself thus: "Fateor, si atrocis illius Tragoedia: tot actus fuerint, quot ludierarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium finisse. Adeo ut non acutè ut agis quam vere, dixerit L'Estrangius Noster: Regem primo a Presbyteris interituro. Caeterum dei hoc Independentibus imperfectionem

tion from the following principle, which they held in communion with the *brownists*, that every christian congrega-

lours, that, were his portrait just, they would not deserve to enjoy the light of the sun, or to breathe the free air of Britain, much less to be treated with indulgence and esteem by those who have the cause of virtue at heart. Let us now examine the account which this illustrious historian gives of this sect. He declares, in the first place, that, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to trace out the true origin of it, his inquiries had been entirely fruitless; his words are, as translated by Mr. Tindal, "After all my pains I have not been able to discover, precisely, the first rise of the independent sect, or faction." It is very surprising to hear a man of learning, who had employed seventeen years in composing the history of England, and had admittance to so many rich and famous libraries, express his ignorance of a matter, about which it was so easy to acquire ample information. Had he only looked into the work of the learned Hornbeek, entitled, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 775, he would have found, in a moment, what he had been so long and so laboriously seeking in vain. Rapin proceeds to the doctrines and opinions of the *independents*, and begins here, by a general declaration of their tendency to throw the nation into disorder and combustion; his words are, "Thus much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the kingdom in a flame; and this they did effectually." What truth there is in this assertion, will be seen by what follows. Their sentiments concerning government were, if we are to believe this writer, of the most pernicious kind; since, according to him, they wanted to overturn the monarchy, and to establish a democracy in its place; his words are, "With regard to the state, they abhorred monarchy, and approved only a republican government." I will not pretend to deny, that there were among the *independents* several persons, that were no friends to a kingly government; persons of this kind were to be found among the *presbyterians*, *anabaptists*, and all the other religious sects and communities that flourished in England during this tumultuous period; but I want to see it proved, in an evident and satisfactory manner, that these republican principles were embraced by all the *independents*, and formed one of the distinguishing characteristics of that sect. There is, at least, no such thing to be found in their public writings. They declared, on the contrary, in a public memorial drawn up by them in the year 1647, that, as magistracy in general is the ordinance of God, "they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge, that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and also a good accommodation unto men." I omit the mention of several other circumstances, which unite to prove that the *independents* were far from looking with abhorrence on a monarchical government.

Their sentiments of religion, according to Rapin's account, were highly absurd, since he represents their principles as entirely opposite to those of all other religious communities; "As to religion," says he, "their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world." With respect to this accusation, it may be proper to observe, that there are extant two *Confessions of Faith*, one of the English *independents* in Holland, and another drawn up by the principal members of that community in England. The former was composed by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at Leyden in 4to. in the year 1619, under the following title; '*Apologia pro exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur*;' the latter appeared at London, for the first time, in the year 1658, and was thus entitled; '*A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto, by their elders and messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658.*' Hornbeek gave, in the year 1659, a Latin translation of this declaration, and subjoined it to his '*Epistola ad Duræum de independentismo.*' It appears evidently from these two public and authentic pieces, not to mention other writings of the *independents*, that they differed from the *presbyterians* or calvinists in no single point of any consequence, except that of ecclesiastical government. To put this matter beyond all doubt, we have only to attend to the following passage in Robinson's '*Apology for the English Exiles*,' p. 7, 11, where that founder of the sect of the *independents* expresses his own private sentiments, and those of his community, in the plainest manner; "Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis Reformatis, Belgicis in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis eandem Ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere. Ecclesias Reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et, quantum in nobis est, colimus." It appears evident from this declaration, that, instead of differing totally from all other christian societies, it may rather be said of the *independents*, that they were perfectly agreed

tion ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to

with by far the greatest part of the reformed churches. To show, as he imagines, by a striking example, the absurdity of their religion and worship, our eminent historian tells us, that they not only reject all kind of ecclesiastical government, but moreover allow all their members, promiscuously, and without exception, to perform in public the pastoral functions, i. e. to preach, pray, and expound the scriptures; his words are, "They were not only averse to episcopacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy," this charge is true, but it may equally be brought against the presbyterians, brownists, anabaptists, and all the various sects of nonconformists "but they would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, and interpret the scriptures according to the talents God had endowed him with. So with them every one preached, prayed, admonished, interpreted the holy scriptures, without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors." This whole charge is evidently false and groundless. The *independents* have, and always have had, *fixed and regular* ministers *approved of* by their people; nor do they allow to teach in public, every person who thinks himself qualified for that important office. The celebrated historian has here confounded the *independents* with the *brownists*, who, as is well known, permitted all to pray and preach in public without distinction. We shall not enlarge upon the other mistakes he has fallen into on this subject; but only observe, that if so eminent a writer, and one so well acquainted with the English nation, has pronounced such an unjust sentence against this sect, we may the more easily excuse an inferior set of authors, who have loaded them with groundless accusations.

It will however be alleged, that, whatever may have been the religious sentiments and discipline of the *independents*, innumerable testimonies concur in proving, that they were chargeable with the death of Charles I. and many will consider this single circumstance as a sufficient demonstration of the impiety and depravity of the whole sect. I am well aware indeed that many of the most eminent and respectable English writers have given the *independents* the denomination of *regicides*; and if, by the term *independents*, they mean those licentious republicans, whose dislike of a monarchical form of government carried them the most pernicious and extravagant lengths, I grant that this denomination is well applied. But if, by the term *independents*, we are to understand a *religious* sect, the ancestors of those who still bear the same title in England, it appears very questionable to me, whether the unhappy fate of the worthy prince abovementioned ought to be imputed entirely to that set of men. They who affirm that the *independents* were the only authors of the death of king Charles, must mean one of these two things, either that the *regicides* were animated and set on by the seditious doctrines of that sect, and the violent suggestions of its members, or that all who were concerned in this atrocious deed were themselves *independents*, zealously attached to the religious community now under consideration. Now it may be proved, with the clearest evidence, that neither of these was the case. There is nothing in the doctrine of this sect, so far as they are known to me, that seems in the least adapted to excite men to such a horrid deed; nor does it appear from the history of these times, that the *independents* were a whit more exasperated against Charles, than were the *presbyterians*. And as to the latter supposition, it is far from being true, that all those who were concerned in bringing this unfortunate prince to the scaffold were *independents*; since we learn from the best English writers, and from the public declarations of Charles II. that this violent faction was composed of persons of different sects. That there were *independents* among them, may be easily conceived. After all, this matter will be best unravelled by the English writers, who know best in what sense the term *independents* is used, when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block.*

* Dr. Mosheim's defence of the *independents* is certainly specious; but he has not sufficiently distinguished the times; and he has perhaps, in defending them, strained too far that equitable principle, that we must not impute to a sect any principles that are not contained in, or deducible from, their religious system. This maxim does not entirely answer here the purpose for which it is applied. The religious system of a sect may be in itself pacific and innocent, while, at the same time, certain incidental circumstances, or certain associations of ideas, may render that sect more turbulent and restless than others, or at least involve it in political factions and broils. Such perhaps was the case of the *independents* at certain periods of time, and more especially at the period now under consideration. When we consider their religious form of government, we shall see evidently, that a principle of analogy, which influences the sentiments and imaginations of men, much more than is generally supposed, must naturally have led the greatest part of them to republican notions of civil government: and it is further to be ob-

the authority of synods, presbyteries, or any ecclesiastical assembly composed of the deputies from different churches.⁴

On inquiring, with particular attention, into the causes of that *odium* that has been cast upon the *independents*, and of the heavy accusations and severe invectives with which they have been loaded, I was more peculiarly struck with the three following considerations, which will perhaps furnish a satisfactory account of this matter. In the *first place*, the denomination of *independents* is ambiguous, and is not peculiar to any one distinct order of men. For, not to enumerate the other notions that have been annexed to this term, it is sufficient to observe, that it is used sometimes by the English writers to denote those who aim at the establishment of a purely *democratical* or popular government, in which the body of the people is clothed with the supreme dominion. Such a faction there was in England, composed, in a great measure, of persons of an enthusiastical character and complexion; and to it, no doubt, we are to ascribe those scenes of sedition and misery, whose effects are still lamented with justice. The violence and folly that dishonoured the proceedings of this tumultuous faction have been, if I am not mistaken, too rashly imputed to the *religious independents* now under consideration, who, with all their defects, were a much better set of men than the persons now mentioned. It may be observed further, *secondly*, that almost all the religious sects, which divided the English nation in the reign of Charles I. and more especially under the administration of Cromwell, assumed the denomination of *independents*, in order to screen themselves from the reproaches of the public, and to share a part of that popular esteem that the *true and genuine independents* had acquired, on account of the regularity of their lives and the sanctity of their manners. This is confirmed, among other testimonies, by the following passage of a letter from Toland to Le Clerc; “Au commencement tous les sectaires se disoient *independans*, parce que ces derniers estoient fort honores du peuple a cause de leur pieté.” See Le Clerc’s *Biblioth. Univers. et Histor.* tom. xxiii. p. ii. p. 506. As this title was of a very extensive signification, and of great latitude, it might thus easily happen, that all the enormities of the various sects who sheltered themselves under it, and several of whom were but of short duration, might unluckily be laid to the charge of the true *independents*. But it must be particularly remarked, in the *third place*, that the usurper Cromwell, preferred the *independents* before all other religious communities. He looked, with an equal eye of suspicion and fear, upon the *presbyterian synods* and the *episcopal visitations*; every thing that looked like an extensive authority, whether it was of a civil or religious nature, excited uneasy apprehensions in the breast of the tyrant; but in the limited and simple form of ecclesiastical discipline, that was adopted by the *independents*, he saw nothing that was adapted to alarm his fears. This circumstance was sufficient to render the *independents* odious in the eyes of many, who would be naturally disposed to extend their abhorrence of Cromwell to those who were the objects of his favour and protection.

¶ The *independents* were undoubtedly so called, from their maintaining that all christian congregations were so many *independent* religious societies, that had a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any further or foreign jurisdiction. Robinson, the founder of the sect, makes express use of this term in explaining his doctrine relating to ecclesiastical government: “*Cœtum quemlibet particularem*,” says he, in his *Apologia*, cap. v. p. 22, “*esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et independentem* (quoad alias ecclesias) *sub ipso Christo*.” It may possibly have been from this very passage that the title of *independents* was originally derived. The disciples of Robinson did not reject it; nor indeed is there any thing shocking in the title, when it is understood in a manner conformable to the sentiments of those to whom it is applied. It was certainly utterly unknown in England before the year 1640; at least it is not once mentioned in the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions that were drawn up

served, that from a republican government, they must have expected much more protection and favour, than from a kingly one. When these two things are considered, together with their situation under the reign of Charles I. when the government was unhinged, when things were in confusion, when the minds of men were suspended upon the issue of the national troubles, and when the eager spirit of party, nourished by hope, made each faction expect that the chaos would end in some settled system, favourable to their respective views, sentiments, and passions; this will engage us to think, that the *independents*, at that time, may have been much more tumultuous and republican than the sect that bears that denomination in our times. The reader, that would form just ideas of the matter of fact, must examine the relations given by the writers of both parties. See particularly Clarendon’s *History of his own Life*. Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 547, &c. Hume’s *History of England*, vol. v. edit. in quarto. Burnet’s *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 48, &c.

It is in this their notion of ecclesiastical government, that the difference between them and the *presbyterians* principally consists; for their religious doctrines, except in some points of very little moment, are almost entirely the same with those that are adopted by the church of Geneva. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was master of a congregation of *brownists*, that had settled at Leyden. This well meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modelling anew the society, in such a manner as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those true christians, who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The *independents*, accordingly, were much more commendable than the *brownists* in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules entirely different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy of the christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, and as originally introduced by the authority of the apostles, nay, by the apostles themselves, yet they had candour and charity enough to acknowledge, that true religion and solid piety might flourish in those communities, which were under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyteries. They were also much more

during that year, in the synods or visitations held by the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and other prelates, in which canons all the various sects that then subsisted in England are particularly mentioned. See Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, vol. iv. cap. v. p. 548, where are the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy, in their several synods," &c. An. mdcxli. It is true, that not long after this period, and more particularly from the year 1642, we find this denomination very frequently in the English *Annals*. The *English independents* were so far from being displeased with it, that they assumed it publicly in a piece they published in their own defence at London, in the year 1644, under the following title: *Apologetical Narration of the Independents*. But when in process of time a great variety of sects, as has been already observed, sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious subjects, that aimed at nothing less than the death of their sovereign and the destruction of the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the true and genuine *independents* renounced this title, and substituted another less odious in its place, calling themselves *congregationalists*, and their religious assemblies *congregational churches*.

attentive than the *brownists* in keeping on foot a regular ministry in their communities; for while the latter allowed promiscuously all ranks and orders of men to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions, the *independents* had, and still have, a certain number of ministers, chosen respectively by the congregations where they are fixed; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his capacity and talents, and been approved of by the heads of the congregation. This community, which was originally formed in Holland, in the year 1610, made at first but a very small progress in England;⁹⁹ it worked its way slowly, and in a clandestine manner; and its members concealed their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against *nonconformists*. But during the reign of Charles I. when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops and the cause of episcopacy began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the *independents* grew more courageous, and came forth, with an air of resolution and confidence, to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers and by the reputation they acquired, that they vied in point of pre-eminence and credit, not only with the bishops, but also with the *presbyterians*, though at this time in the very zenith of their power. 'This rapid progress of the *independents* was, no doubt, owing to a variety of causes; among which justice obliges us to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners.' During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar protection and patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit arose to the greatest height, and their influence and reputation were universal; but after the restoration of Charles II. their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into their primitive obscurity. 'The sect indeed still subsisted; but in such a state of dejection and weakness, as engaged them in the year 1691, under the reign of king William,

⁹⁹ In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first *independent* or *congregational* church in England.

^r Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 107, 293, vol. viii. p. 141, 145, 276, 303, 437, 549. See also a German work, entitled, *Englische Reformation Historie*, by Anthony William Bohm, p. 794.

to enter into an association with the *presbyterians* residing in and about London, under certain heads of agreement that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions.^s

xxii. While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government in Great Britain, all sects, even those that dishonoured true religion in the most shocking manner by their fanaticism or their ignorance, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The *episcopalians* alone were

The state of the church of England under Cromwell.

^s From that time they were called *united brethren*. The heads of agreement that formed and cemented this union are to be found in the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, and they consist in nine articles. The first relates to *churches and church members*, in which the united ministers, *presbyterians* and *independents*, declare, among other things, "That each particular church had a right to choose their own officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself; that, in the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church, if such there be, to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the gospel." In this both *presbyterians* and *independents* depart from the principles of their respective institutions. Article ii. relates to the *ministry*, which they grant to have been instituted by Jesus Christ, *for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church*; in this article it is further observed, that ministers ought to be endued with competent learning, sound judgment, and solid piety; that none are to be ordained to the work of the ministry, but such as are chosen and called thereunto by a particular church; that, in such a weighty matter, it is ordinarily requisite, that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations; and that after such advice the person thus consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them. Article iii. relates to *censures*, and prescribes first, the *admonishing*, and, if this prove ineffectual, the *excommunication* of offending and scandalous members, to be performed by the pastors, with the consent of the brethren. Article iv. concerning the *communion of churches*, lays it down as a principle, that there is no subordination between particular churches; that they are all equal, and consequently independent; that the pastors however of these churches ought to have frequent meetings together, that, by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord. In article v. which relates to *deacons and ruling elders*, the united brethren acknowledge, that the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to their office to receive, lay out, and distribute, the stock of the church to its proper uses; and as there are different sentiments about the office of ruling elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, they agree, that this difference makes no breach among them. In article vi. concerning *occasional meetings of ministers*, &c. the brethren agree, that it is needful, in weighty and difficult cases, that the ministers of several churches meet together, in order to be consulted and advised with about such matters; and that particular churches ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God. Article vii. which relates to the *demeanour of the brethren towards the civil magistrate*, prescribes obedience to, and prayers for God's protection and blessing upon their rulers. In article viii. which relates to a *confession of faith*, the brethren esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of the articles of the church of England, or the Westminster confession and catechisms, drawn up by the *presbyterians*, or the confession of the *congregational brethren*, i. e. the *independents*, to be agreeable to the said rule. Article ix. which concerns the *duty and deportment of the brethren toward those that are not in communion with them*, inculcates charity and moderation. It appears from these articles, that the *independents* were led, by a kind of necessity, to adopt, in many things, the sentiments of the *presbyterians*, and to depart thus far from the original principles of their sect

excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt the heavy hand of oppression in a particular manner. But, though the toleration extended to all other sects and religious communities, yet the *presbyterians* and *independents* were treated with peculiar marks of distinction and favour. Cromwell, though attached to no one particular sect, gave the latter extraordinary proofs of his good will, and augmented their credit and authority, as this seemed the easiest and least exasperating method of setting bounds to the ambition of the *presbyterians*, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical power.¹ It was during this period of religious anarchy, that the *fifth monarchy men* arose, a set of wrongheaded and turbulent enthusiasts, who expected Christ's sudden appearance upon earth to establish a new kingdom; and, acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government, and were for turning all things into the most deplorable confusion." It was at this time also, that the *quakers*, of whom we propose to give a more particular account,² and the hot headed anabaptists,³ propagated, without restraint, their visionary doctrines. It must likewise be observed, that the *deists*, headed by Sidney, Neville, Martin, and Harrington, appeared with impunity, and promoted a kind of religion, which consisted in a few plain precepts, drawn from the dictates of natural reason.⁴

[F] † A little after Cromwell's elevation, it was resolved by the parliament, at the conclusion of a debate concerning public worship and church government, that the *presbyterian* government should be the established government. The *independents* were not as yet agreed upon any standard of faith and discipline; and it was only a little before Cromwell's death that they held a synod, by his permission, in order to publish to the world an *uniform* account of their doctrine and principles.

¹ See Burnet's *History of his own times*, tom. i. p. 67.

² See, in this volume, the *History of the Quakers*.

[F] ‡ We are not to imagine, by the term hot headed, *furiosi*, that the *anabaptists* resembled the furious fanatics of that name that formerly excited such dreadful tumults in Germany, and more especially at Munster. This was by no means the case; the English anabaptists differed from their protestant brethren about the *subject* and *mode* of baptism alone; confining the former to *grown christians*, and the latter to *immersion* or dipping. They were divided into *generals* and *particulars*, from their different sentiments upon the arminian controversy. The latter, who were so called from their belief of the doctrines of *particular election*, *redemption*, &c. were strict calvinists, who separated from the *independent* congregation at Leyden, in the year 1638. Their confession was composed with a remarkable spirit of modesty and charity. Their preachers were generally illiterate, and were eager in making proselytes of all that would submit to their *immersion*, without a due regard to their religious principles, or their moral characters. The writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them. There were nevertheless among them some pious and learned persons, who disapproved highly of all violent and uncharitable proceedings.

³ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 87.

XXIII. Among the various religious factions that sprung up in England, during this period of confusion and anarchy, we may reckon a certain sect of *presbyterians*, who were called by their adversaries *antinomians*, or enemies of the law, and still subsist even in our times. The *antinomians* are a more rigid kind of calvinists, who pervert Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to the worst purposes, by drawing from it conclusions highly detrimental to the interests of true religion and virtue. Such is the judgment that the other presbyterian communities form of this perverse and extravagant sect.² Several of the *antinomians*, for they are not all precisely of the same mind, look upon it as unnecessary for christian ministers to exhort their flock to a virtuous practice and a pious obedience to the divine law, "since they whom God has *elect*d to salvation by an eternal and immutable decree, will, by the *irresistible* impulse of divine grace, be led to the practice of piety and virtue; while those who are doomed by a divine decree to eternal punishments, will never be engaged, by any exhortations or admonitions, how affecting soever they may be, to a virtuous course; nor have they it in their power to obey the divine law, when the succours of divine grace are withheld from them. From these principles they concluded, that the ministers of the gospel discharged sufficiently their pastoral functions, when they inculcated the necessity of *faith in Christ*, and proclaimed the blessings of the new covenant to their people. Another, and a still more hideous form of *antinomianism*, is that which is exhibited in the opinions of other doctors of that sect,^a who maintain, "That as the *elect* cannot fall from grace, nor forfeit the divine favour, so it follows, that the wicked actions they commit, and the violations of the divine law with which they are chargeable, are not *really sinful*, nor are to be considered as instances, of their departing from the law of God; and that, consequently, they have no occasion either to confess their sins, or to break them off by repentance. Thus adultery, for example, in one of the *elect*, though it appear *sinful* in the

² See Toland's Letter to Le Clerc, in the periodical work of the latter, entitled, *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxiii. p. 505. As also Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 800, 812.

^a This second *antinomian* hypothesis has certainly a still more odious aspect than the first; and it is therefore surprising that our author should use, in the original, these terms: "Illi tantum statuunt. *Electos*," &c.

sight of men, and be considered universally as an enormous violation of the divine law, yet is not a *sin* in the sight of God, because it is one of the essential and distinctive characters of the elect, that *they cannot do any thing which is either displeasing to God, or prohibited by the law.*"^b

xxiv. The public calamities, that flowed from these vehement and uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good men, and engaged several, who were not less eminent for their piety than for their moderation and wisdom, to seek after some method of uniting such of the contending parties as were capable of listening to the dictates of charity and reason, or at least of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These pacific doctors offered themselves as mediators between the more violent *episcopalians* on the one hand, and the more rigid *presbyterians* and *independents* on the other; and hoped that, when their differences were accommodated, the lesser factions would fall of themselves. The contests that reigned between the former turned partly on the forms of church government and public worship, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those that were debated between the *arminians* and *calvinists*. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators, already mentioned, endeavoured to draw them out of their narrow enclosures, to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party rage had been labouring to render inaccessible to many good christians. This noble and truly evangelical method of proceeding, procured to its authors the denomination of *latitudinarians*.^c Their views indeed were generous and extensive. They were zealously attached to the forms of ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of England, and they recommended episcopacy with all the strength and power

^b There is an account of the other tenets of the *antinomians*, and of the modern disputes that were occasioned by the publication of the Posthumous Works of Crisp, a flaming doctor of that extravagant and pernicious sect, given by Pierre Francois Le Courayer, in his "*Examen des défauts Théologiques*," tom. ii. p. 198. Baxter and Tillotson distinguished themselves by their zeal against the *antinomians*; and they were also completely refuted by Dr. Williams, in his famous book, entitled, "*Gospel Truth stated and vindicated*," 8vo. [I have been informed, since the first edition of this history was published, that the book, entitled, "*Examen des défauts Théologiques*," which our author supposes to have been written by Dr. Courayer, is the production of another pen.

^c See Burnet's "*History of his own Times*," vol. i. book ii. p. 188.

of their eloquence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of *divine institution*, or as absolutely and indispensably necessary to the constitution of a christian church; and hence they maintained, that those who followed other forms of government and worship, were not, on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of brethren. As to the doctrinal part of religion, they took the system of the famous Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, i. e. those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, to a few points. By this manner of proceeding they showed, that neither the *episcopalians*, who, generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the arminians. nor the *presbyterians* and *independents*, who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such animosity and bitterness, since the subjects of their debates were matters of an indifferent nature, with respect to salvation, and might be variously explained and understood without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these latitudinarians were Hales and Chillingworth, whose names are still pronounced in England with that veneration that is due to distinguished wisdom and rational piety.^d The respectable names of More, Cudworth, Gale, Whichcot, and Tillotson, add a high degree of lustre to this eminent list. The undertaking of these great men, was indeed bold and perilous; and it drew upon them much opposition and many bitter reproaches. They received, as the first fruits of their charitable zeal, the odious appellations of atheists, deists, and socinians, both from the Roman catholics, and the more rigid of the contending protestant parties; but, upon the restoration of king Charles II. they were raised to the first dignities of the

^d The life of the ingenious and worthy Mr. Hales was composed in English by M. Des Maizeaux, and published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1719; it was considerably augmented in the Latin translation of it, which I prefixed to the account of the synod of Dort, drawn from the letters of that great man, and published at Hamburgh in 1724. A life of Mr. Hales, written in French, is to be found in the first volume of the French translation of Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," &c. The life of Chillingworth also was drawn up by Des Maizeaux in English; and a French translation of it appeared, in the year 1730, at the head of the excellent book now mentioned, which was translated into that language, and published at Amsterdam, in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1730. Those who are desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the doctrines, government, laws, and present state of the church of England, will do well to read the history of these two men; and more especially to peruse Chillingworth's admirable book already mentioned, I mean, "The Religion of Protestants: a safe Way to Salvation."

church, and were deservedly held in universal esteem. It is also well known, that, even at this present time, the church of England is chiefly governed by *latitudinarians* of this kind, though there be among both bishops and clergy, from time to time, ecclesiastics who breathe the narrow and despotic spirit of Laud, and who, in the language of faction, are called *high churchmen*, or *church Tories*.^e

xxv. No sooner was Charles II. re-established on the throne of his ancestors, than the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship were restored with him; and the bishops reinstated in their dignities and honours. The *nonconformists* hoped, that *they* should be allowed to share some part of the honours and revenues of the church; but their expectations were totally disappointed, and the face of affairs changed very suddenly with respect to them. For Charles subjected to the government of bishops the churches of Scotland and Ireland, the former of which was peculiarly attached to the ecclesiastical discipline and polity of Geneva; and, in the year 1662, a public law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe the doctrines, of the church of England, were entirely excluded from its communion.^f From this period, until the reign of king William III. the *nonconformists* were in a precarious and changing situation, sometimes involved in calamity and trouble, at others enjoying some intervals of tranquillity and certain gleams of hope, according to the varying spirit of the court and ministry, but never entirely free from perplexities and fears.^g But, in the year 1689, their affairs took a favourable turn, when a bill for the *toleration* of all protestant dissenters from the church of England, except the socinians, passed in parliament almost

^e See Rapin's "Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories." See an admirable defence of the *latitudinarian* divines, in a book entitled, "The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the church of England, greatly misunderstood, truly represented and defended." London, 1670, in 8vo. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterward bishop of Gloucester. N.

^f This was the famous *Act of Uniformity*, in consequence of which the validity of presbyterian ordination was renounced; the ministrations of the foreign churches disowned; the terms of conformity rendered more difficult and raised higher than before the civil wars; and by which, contrary to the manner of proceeding in the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell, who both reserved for the subsistence of each ejected clergyman a fifth part of his benefice, no provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings. See Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ*, tom. iv. p. 573. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 190, &c. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, tom. iv. p. 338.

^g See the whole fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

without opposition, and delivered them from the penal laws to which they had been subjected by the *act of uniformity*, and other acts passed under the house of Stuart.^h Nor did the protestant dissenters in England enjoy alone the benefits of this act; for it extended also to the Scots church, which was permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, and was delivered from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the forms of worship that were annexed to episcopacy. It is from this period that the nonconformists date the liberty and tranquillity they have long been blessed with, and still enjoy; but it is also observable, that it is to the transactions that were carried on during this period, in favour of religious liberty, that we must chiefly impute the multitude of religious sects and factions, that start up from time to time in that free and happy island, and involve its inhabitants in the perplexities of religious division and controversy.ⁱ

xxvi. In the reign of king William, and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism in the church of England, which has never hitherto been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the other bishops,ⁱⁱ all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning and their virtue, looked upon it as unlawful to take the oath of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James II. though banished from his dominions, remained nevertheless their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments nor exhortations could engage these prelates to acknowledge the title of William III. to the crown of Great Britain, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit.ⁱⁱⁱ The deposed bishops and clergy

The high church and nonjurors.

^h This was called the *toleration act*, and it may be seen at length in the *Appendix*, subjoined to the fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*. It is entitled, 'An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws.' In this bill the *corporation* and *test acts* are omitted, and consequently still remain in force. The *socinians* are also excepted; but provision is made for *quakers*, upon their making a *solemn declaration*, instead of taking the oaths to the government. This act excuses protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, provided they take the oaths to the government, and subscribe the *doctrinal articles* of the church of England.

ⁱ Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 23.

ⁱⁱ The other nonjuring bishops were, Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucester; Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester; Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough.

ⁱⁱⁱ These were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland.

formed a new episcopal church, which differed, in certain points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the established church of England. This new religious community were denominated *nonjurors*, on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and were also called the *high church*, on account of the high notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved of this schism, who distinguished themselves by their charity and moderation toward dissenters, and were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority, were denominated *low churchmen*.^k The bishops, who were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and those who embarked in their cause, maintained openly, that the church was independent on the jurisdiction of king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that, of consequence, the sentence pronounced against these prelates by the great council of the nation was destitute both of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. This high notion of the authority and prerogatives of the church was maintained and propagated, with peculiar zeal, by the famous Henry Dodwell, who led the way in this important cause, and who, by his example and abilities, formed a considerable number of champions for its defence; hence arose a very nice and intricate controversy, concerning the nature, privileges, and authority of the church, which has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.^l

names that will be ever pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming solid, well employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England.

^k The denomination of *high church* is given, certainly with great propriety, to the *nonjurors*, who have very proud notions of church power; but it is commonly used in a more extensive signification, and is applied to all those who, though far from being *nonjurors*, or otherwise disaffected to the present happy establishment, yet form pompous and ambitious conceptions of the authority and jurisdiction of the church, and would raise it to an absolute independence on all human power. Many such are to be found even among those who go under the general denomination of the *low church* party.

^l Dodwell himself was deprived of his professorship of history for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to king William and queen Mary; and this circumstance, no doubt, augmented the zeal with which he interested himself in the defence of the bishops, who were suspended for the same reason. It was on this occasion that he published his 'Cautionary discourse of Schism, with a particular regard to the case of the bishops who are suspended for refusing to take the new oath.' This book was

xxvii. The *nonjurors* or *high churchmen*, who boast with peculiar ostentation of their orthodoxy, and treat the *low church* as unsound and schismatical, differ in several things from the members of the episcopal church, in its present establishment; but they are more particularly distinguished by the following principles; 1. "That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist the sovereign." This is called in England *passive obedience*, and is a doctrine warmly opposed by many, who think it both lawful and necessary, in certain circumstances, and in cases of an urgent and momentous nature, to resist the prince for the happiness of the people. They maintain further, 2. "That the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine institution, and therefore can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext. 3. That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature. 4. That consequently *Sancroft* and the other bishops, deposed by king *William III.* remained, notwithstanding their deposition, *true bishops* to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property. 5. That these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the state, as well as schismatics in the church; and that all therefore who held communion with them were also chargeable with rebellion and schism. 6. That this schism, which rents the church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, whose punishment must fall heavy upon all those who do

High church
principles.

fully refuted by the learned Dr. Hody, in the year 1691, in a work, entitled, 'The unreasonableness of a separation from the new bishops; or a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, showing that although a bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the church ever made a separation, if the successor was not a heretic; translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript,' viz. among the Borocian MSS. in the public library at Oxford.' The learned author translated this work afterward into Latin, and prefixed to it some pieces out of ecclesiastical antiquity, relative to the same subject. Dodwell published in 1692 an answer to it, which he called, 'A vindication of the deprived bishops,' &c. to which Dr. Hody replied in a treatise, entitled, 'The Case of the Sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation stated, in reply to the Vindication,' &c. The controversy did not end here; and it was the hardest thing in the world to reduce Mr. Dodwell to silence. Accordingly he came forth a third time with his stiff and rigid polemics, and published in 1695, his 'Defence of the Vindication of the deprived bishops.' The preface, which he designed to prefix to this work, was at first suppressed, but appeared afterward under the following title: 'The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the lay power, as to those rights of theirs which are purely spiritual, reconciled with our oath of supremacy and the lay deprivation of the Popish bishops in the beginning of the Reformation.' Several other pamphlets were published on the subject of this controversy.

not return sincerely to the true church, from which they have departed."^m

xxviii. It will now be proper to change the scene, and to consider a little the state of the reformed church in Holland. The Dutch calvinists thought themselves happy after the defeat of the arminians, and were flattering themselves with the agreeable prospect of enjoying long, in tranquillity and repose, the fruits of their victory, when new scenes of tumult arose from another quarter. Scarcely had they triumphed over the enemies of absolute predestination, when, by an ill hap, they became the prey of intestine disputes, and were divided among themselves in such a deplorable manner, that, during the whole of this century, the United Provinces were a scene of contention, animosity, and strife. It is not necessary to mention all the subjects of these religious quarrels; nor indeed would this be an easy task. We shall therefore pass over in silence the debates of certain divines, who disputed about some particular, though not very momentous points of doctrine and discipline; such as those of the famous Voet and the learned Des Marets; as also the disputes of Salmasius, Boxborn, Voet, and others, concerning usury, ornaments in dress, stage players, and other minute points of morality; and the contests of Appollonius, Trigland, and Videlius, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, which produced such a flaming division between Frederic Spanheim and John Vander Wayen. These and other debates of like nature and importance rather discover the sentiments of certain learned men, concerning some particular points of religion and morality, than exhibit a view of the true internal state of the Belgic church. The knowledge of this must be derived from those controversies alone in which the whole church, or at least the greatest part of its doctors, have been directly concerned.

xxix. Such were the controversies occasioned in Holland by the philosophy of Des Cartes, and the theological novelties of Cocceius. Hence arose the two powerful and numerous factions, distin-

Theological
contests among
the
Dutch.

The cartesian
and cocceian
controversies.

^m See Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and writings*, vol. i. p. 30. Hickes's *Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell*, printed at London in 1718. *Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critiq.* at the article Collier Ph. Masson, *Histor. Critique de la Repub. des Lettres*, tom. xiii. p. 298.

guished by the denominations of *cocceians* and *voetians*, which still subsist, though their debates are now less violent, and their champions somewhat more moderate, than they were in former times. The cocceian theology and the cartesian philosophy have indeed no common features, nor any thing, in their respective tenets and principles, that was in the least adapted to form a connexion between them; and, of consequence, the debates they excited, and the factions they produced, had no natural relation to, or dependence on, each other. It nevertheless so happened, that the respective votaries of these very *different* sciences formed themselves into one sect; so far at least, that those who chose Cocceius for their guide in theology, took Des Cartes for their master in philosophy.^a This will appear less surprising when we consider, that the very same persons who opposed the progress of *cartesianism* in Holland, were the warm adversaries of the *cocceian* theology; for this opposition, equally levelled at these two great men and their respective systems, laid the *cartesians* and *cocceians* under a kind of necessity of uniting their force in order to defend their cause, in a more effectual manner, against the formidable attacks of their numerous adversaries. The *voetians* were so called from Gisbert Voet, a learned and eminent professor of divinity, in the university of Utrecht, who first sounded the alarm of this theologico philosophic war, and led on, with zeal, the polemic legions against those who followed the standard of Des Cartes and Cocceius.

xxx. The cartesian philosophy, at its first appearance, attracted the attention and esteem of many, and seemed more conformable to truth and nature, as ^{Cartesian controversy.} well as more elegant and pleasing in its aspect, than the intricate labyrinth of peripatetic wisdom. It was considered in this light in Holland; it however met there with a formidable adversary, in the year 1639, in the famous Voet, who taught theology at Utrecht with the greatest reputation, and gave plain intimations of his looking upon cartesianism as a system of impiety. Voet was a man of uncommon application and immense learning; he had made an extraordinary progress in all the various branches of erudition and philology; but he was not endowed with a large portion of that philosophical spirit, that judges with

^a See Frid. Spanhemii *Epistola de novissimis in Belgio dissidiis*, tom. ii. opp. p. 273.

acuteness and precision of natural science and abstract truths. While Des Cartes resided at Utrecht, Voet found fault with many things in his philosophy; but what induced him to cast upon it the aspersion of impiety, was its being introduced by the following principles; "That the person who aspires after the character of a true philosopher must begin by doubting of all things, even of the existence of a Supreme Being; that the nature or *essence* of spirit, and even of God himself, consists in *thought*; that space has no real existence, is no more than the creature of fancy, and that, consequently, *matter* is without bounds."

Des Cartes defended his principles, with his usual acuteness, against the professor of Utrecht; his disciples and followers thought themselves obliged, on this occasion, to assist their master; and thus war was formally declared. On the other hand, Voet was not only seconded by those Belgic divines that were the most eminent, at this time, for the extent of their learning and the soundness of their theology, such as Rivet, Des Marets, and Maastricht, but also was followed and applauded by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy.^o While the flame of controversy burned with sufficient ardour, it was considerably augmented by the proceedings of certain doctors, who applied the principles and tenets of Des Cartes to the illustration of theological truth. Hence, in the year 1656, an alarm was raised in the Dutch churches and schools of learning, and a resolution was taken in several of their ecclesiastical assemblies, commonly called *classes*, to make head against cartesianism, and not to permit that *imperious* philosophy to make such encroachments upon the domain of theology. The states of Holland not only approved of this resolution, but also gave it new force and efficacy by a public edict, issued out the very same year, by which both the professors of philosophy and theology were forbidden either to explain the writings of Des Cartes to the youth under their care, or to illustrate the doctrines of the gospel by the principles of philosophy. It was further resolved, in an assembly of the clergy, held at Delft the year following, that no candidate for holy orders should be received into the ministry before he made a solemn declaration that he would neither promote the cartesian philosophy, nor disfigure the divine

^o See Baillet's *Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. chap. v. p. 33. Daniel, *Voyage du Monde* de Des Cartes, tom. i. de ses *Oeuvres*, p. 51.

simplicity of religion, by loading it with foreign ornaments. Laws of a like tenor were afterward passed in the United Provinces, and in other countries.^p But, as there is in human nature a strange propensity to struggle against authority, and to pursue, with a peculiar degree of ardour, things that are forbidden, so it happened, that all these edicts proved insufficient to stop the progress of cartesianism, which, at length, obtained a solid and permanent footing in the seminaries of learning, and was applied, both in the academies and pulpits, and sometimes indeed very preposterously, to explain the truths and precepts of Christianity. Hence it was, that the United Provinces were divided into the two great factions already mentioned; and that the whole remainder of this century was spent amidst their contentions and debates.

xxxI. John Cocceius, a native of Bremen, and professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, might certainly have passed for a great man, had his vast erudition, his exuberant fancy, his ardent piety, and his uncommon application to the study of the scriptures, been under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This singular man introduced into theology a multitude of new tenets and strange notions, which had never before entered into the brain of any other mortal, or at least had never been heard of before his time; for, in the first place, as has been already hinted, his manner of explaining the holy scriptures was totally different from that of Calvin and his followers. Departing entirely from the admirable simplicity that reigns in the commentaries of that great man, Cocceius represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, that held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and unto the end of the world. He even went so far, as to maintain, that the miracles, actions, and sufferings of Christ and of his apostles, during the course of their ministry, were *types* and images of future events. He affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the

The sentiments of Cocceius concerning the holy scriptures.

^p Frid. Spanheim, *De notissimis in Belgio dissidiis*, tom. ii. opp. p. 959. The reader may also consult the historians of this century, such as Arnold, Weismann, Jager, Caroli, and also Walchius's *Hist. Controvers. Germanic.* tom. iii

figure of persons and *transactions*, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the *words* used in these predictions. And he completed the extravagance of this chimerical system, by turning, with wonderful art and dexterity, into holy riddles and typical predictions, even those passages of the Old Testament that seemed designed for no other purpose than to celebrate the praises of the Deity, or to convey some religious truth, or to inculcate some rule of practice. In order to give an air of solidity and plausibility to these odd notions, he first laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, “That the *words* and *phrases* of scripture are to be understood in *every* sense of which they are *susceptible*; or, in other words, that they signify, *in effect*, every thing that they *can* possibly signify;” a rule this, which, when followed by a man who had more imagination than judgment, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings. After having laid down this singular rule of interpretation, he divided the whole history of the church into *seven periods*, conformable to the seven *trumpets* and *scals* mentioned in the *Revelations*.

xxxii. One of the great designs formed by Cocceius, was that of separating theology from philosophy, and of confining the christian doctors, in their explanations of the former, to the words and phrases of the holy scriptures. Hence it was, that, finding in the language of the sacred writers, the gospel dispensation represented under the image of a *covenant* made between God and man, he looked upon the use of this image as admirably adapted to exhibit a complete and well connected system of religious truth. But while he was labouring this point, and endeavouring to accommodate the circumstances and characters of human contracts to the dispensations of divine wisdom, which they represent in such an inaccurate and imperfect manner, he fell imprudently into some erroneous notions. Such was his opinion concerning the covenant made between God and the Jewish nation by the ministry and the mediation of Moses, “which he affirmed to be of the same nature with the new covenant obtained by the mediation of Jesus Christ.” In consequence of this general principle, he maintained, “That the *Ten Commandments* were promulgated by Moses, not as a *rule of obedience*, but as a *representation of the*

Concerning
the doctrinal
part of the-
ology.

covenant of grace; that when the Jews had provoked the Deity, by their various transgressions, particularly by the worship of the golden calf, the severe and servile yoke of the ceremonial law was added to the *decalogue*, as a punishment inflicted on them by the Supreme Being in his righteous displeasure; that this yoke, which was painful in itself, became doubly so on account of its *typical* signification; since it admonished the Israelites, from day to day, of the imperfection and uncertainty of their state, filled them with anxiety, and was a standing and perpetual proof that they had merited the displeasure of God, and could not expect, before the coming of the Messiah, the entire remission of their transgressions and iniquities; that indeed good men, even under the Mosaic dispensation, were immediately after death made partakers of everlasting happiness and glory; but that they were nevertheless during the whole course of their lives, far removed from that firm hope and *assurance* of salvation, which rejoices the faithful under the dispensation of the gospel; and that their anxiety flowed naturally from this consideration, that their sins, though they remained unpunished, were not pardoned, because Christ had not, as yet, offered himself up a sacrifice to the Father to make an entire atonement for them." These are the principal lines that distinguish the *cocceian* from other systems of theology; it is attended indeed with other peculiarities; but we shall pass them over in silence, as of little moment, and unworthy of notice. These notions were warmly opposed by the same persons that declared war against the cartesian philosophy; and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. But, in the issue, the doctrines of Cocceius, like those of Des Cartes, stood their ground; and neither the dexterity nor vehemence of his adversaries could exclude his disciples from the public seminaries of learning, or hinder them from propagating, with surprising success and rapidity, the tenets of their master in Germany and Switzerland.^a

XXXIII. The other controversies, that divided the Belgic church during this century, all arose from the immoderate propensity that certain doctors disco-

The controversy set on

^a See Baillet's *Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. p. 33. Daniel's *Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes*. Val. Alberti *Διαλαν καττα*, 'Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus descripti et refutati.' Lips. 1678, in 4to.

foot by Roell, concerning the use of reason in religion.

vered toward an alliance between the cartesian philosophy and their theological system. This will appear, with the utmost evidence, from the debates excited by Roell and Becker, which surpassed all the others, both by the importance of their subjects and by the noise they made in the world. About the year 1686, certain cartesian doctors of divinity, headed by the ingenious Herman Alexander Roell, professor of theology in the university of Franeker, seemed to attribute to the dictates of reason a more extensive authority in religious matters, than they had hitherto been possessed of. The controversy, occasioned by this innovation, was reducible to the two following questions: "1. Whether the divine origin and authority of the holy scriptures can be demonstrated by reason alone, or whether an inward testimony of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of christians be necessary in order to the firm belief of this fundamental point. 2. Whether the sacred writings propose to us as an object of faith, any thing that is repugnant to the dictates of right reason." These questions were answered, the former in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, not only by Roell, but also by Vander Wayen, Wesselius, Duker, Ruardus ab Andala, and other doctors, who were opposed in this by Ulric Nuber, an eminent lawyer, Gerard de Vries, and others of inferior note.* The flame excited by this controversy spread itself far and wide through the United Provinces; and its progress was increasing from day to day, when the states of Friesland prudently interposed to restore the peace of the church, by imposing silence on the contending parties. Those whose curiosity may engage them to examine with attention and accuracy the points debated in this controversy, will find, that a very considerable part of it was merely a dispute about words; and that the real difference of sentiment that there was between these learned disputants might have been easily accommodated, by proper explications on both sides.

xxxiv. Not long after this controversy had been hushed,

Sentiments of Roell concerning the generation of the Son of God.

Roell alarmed the orthodoxy of his colleagues, and more particularly of the learned Vitringa, by some other new tenets, that rendered the soundness of his religious principles extremely doubtful,

* See Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. vi. p. 388

not only in their opinion, but also in the judgment of many Dutch divines;^c for he maintained, "That the account we have of the *generation* of the *Son* in the sacred writings, is not to be understood in a literal sense, or as a real generation of a natural kind;" he also affirmed, "That the afflictions and death of the righteous are as truly the *penal* effects of original sin, as the afflictions and death of the wicked and impenitent;" and he entertained notions concerning the *divine decrees*, *original sin*, the *satisfaction* of Christ, and other points of less moment, which differed in reality, or by the manner of expressing them seemed to differ greatly, from the doctrines received and established in the Dutch church.^c The magistrates of Friesland used all the precautions that prudence could suggest, to prevent these controversies from being propagated in their province; and enacted several laws for this purpose, all tending toward peace and silence. This conduct however was not imitated by the other provinces, where Roell and his disciples were condemned, both in private and in public, as heretics and corrupters of divine truth." Nor did the death of this eminent man extinguish the animosity and resentment of his adversaries; for his disciples are still treated with severity; and, notwithstanding the solemn protestations they have given of the soundness and purity of their religious sentiments, labour under the imputation of many concealed errors.

^c For an account of Roell, see the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico Philolog.* tom. ii. p. vi. p. 707. Casp. Burmanni *Trajectum Eruditum*, p. 306.

^c Those who are desirous of the most accurate account of the errors of Roell, will find them enumerated in a public piece composed by the faculty of theology at Leyden, in order to confirm the sentence of condemnation that had been pronounced against them by the Dutch synods; this piece is entitled, '*Judicium Ecclesiasticum, quo opiniones quædam Cl. H. A. Roellii Synodice damnatæ sunt laudatæ a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academia Lugduno Batavia.*' Ludg. Batav. 1713, in 4to.

¶ "This affirmation is somewhat exaggerated; at least we must not conclude from it, that Roell was either deposed or persecuted; for he exercised the functions of his professorship for several years after this at Franeker, and was afterward called to the chair of divinity at Utrecht, and that upon the most honourable and advantageous terms. The states of Friesland published an edict enjoining silence, and forbidding all professors, pastors, &c. in their province to teach the particular opinions of Roell; and this pacific divine sacrificed the propagation of his opinions to the love of peace and concord. His notion concerning the Trinity did not essentially differ from the doctrine generally received upon that mysterious and unintelligible subject; and his design seemed to be no more than to prevent christians from *humanizing* the relation between the *Father* and the *Son*. But this was wounding his brethren, the rigorous systematic divines, in a tender point; for if *anthropomorphism*, or the custom of attributing to the Deity the kind of procedure in acting and judging that is usual among men, who resemble him only as imperfection resembles perfection, was banished from theology, orthodoxy would be deprived of some of its most precious phrases, and our confessions of faith and systems of doctrine would be reduced within much narrower bounds.

xxxv. The controversy set on foot by the ingenious Balthazar Becker, minister at Amsterdam, must not be omitted here. This learned ecclesiastic took occasion, from the cartesian definition of *spirit*, of the truth and precision of which he was intimately persuaded, to deny boldly all the accounts we have in the holy scriptures of the seduction, influence, and operations of the devil and his infernal emissaries; as also all that has been said in favour of the existence of ghosts, spectres, sorcerers, and magicians. The long and laboured work he published, in the year 1691, upon this interesting subject, is still extant. In this singular production, which bears the title of *The World Bewitched*, he modifies and perverts, with the greatest ingenuity, but also with equal temerity and presumption, the accounts given by the sacred writers of the power of satan and wicked angels, and of persons possessed by evil spirits; he affirms moreover that the unhappy and malignant being, who is called in scripture *satan*, or the *devil*, is chained down with his infernal ministers in hell; so that he can never come forth from this eternal prison to terrify mortals, or to seduce the righteous from the paths of virtue. According to the cartesian definition abovementioned, the *essence of spirit* consists in *thought*; and from this definition, Becker drew his doctrine; since none of that influence, or of those operations that are attributed to evil spirits, can be effected by mere *thinking*." Rather therefore than call into question the accuracy or authority of Des Cartes, Becker thought proper to force the narrations and doctrines of scripture into a conformity with the principles and definitions of this phi-

☞ "Our historian relates here somewhat obscurely the reasoning which Becker founded upon the cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The tenor and amount of his argument is as follows: "The essence of mind is *thought*, and the essence of matter is *extension*. Now, since there is no sort of conformity, or connexion between a *thought* and *extension*, mind cannot act upon matter unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man; therefore no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is *miraculous*, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows of consequence, that the scripture accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits, must be understood in an allegorical sense." This is Becker's argument; and it does, in truth, little honour to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves nothing at all; for if the want of a connexion or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity, since the want of conformity and connexion remains, notwithstanding this union. Beside, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative, by having recourse to a miracle; for this would imply, that the whole course of nature was a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all.

losopher. These errors nevertheless excited great tumults and divisions, not only in all the United Provinces, but also in some parts of Germany, where several doctors of the lutheran church were alarmed at its progress, and arose to oppose it.^w Their inventor and promoter, though refuted victoriously by a multitude of adversaries, and publicly deposed from his pastoral charge, died in the year 1718, in the full persuasion of the truth of these opinions, that had drawn upon him so much opposition, and professed, with his last breath, his sincere adherence to every thing he had written on that subject. Nor can it be said, that this his doctrine died with him; since it is abundantly known, that it has still many votaries and patrons, who either hold it in secret, or profess it publicly.

xxxvi. The curious reader can be no stranger to the multitude of sects, some christian, some half christian, some totally delirious, that have started up, at different times, both in England and Holland.

Dutch sects;
verschorists,
hattemists.

It is difficult indeed, for those who live in other countries, to give accurate accounts of these separatists, as the books that contain their doctrines and views are seldom dispersed in foreign nations. We have however been lately favoured with some relations, that give a clearer idea of the Dutch sects, called *verschorists* and *hattemists*, than we had before entertained; and it will not therefore be improper to give here some account of these remarkable communities. The former derives its denomination from Jacob Verschoor, a native of Flushing, who, in the year 1680, out of a perverse and heterogeneous mixture of the tenets of Cocceius and Spinoza, produced a new form of religion equally remarkable for its extravagance and impiety. His disciples and followers were called *Hebrews*, on account of the zeal and assiduity with which they all, without distinction of age or sex, applied themselves to the study of the Hebrew language.

The *hattemists* were so called from Pontian Van Hattem, a minister in the province of Zeland, who was also addicted to the sentiments of Spinoza, and was, on that account, degraded from his pastoral office. The *verschorists* and

^w See Lilienthalii *Selectæ Historiæ Literar.* p. i. observat. ii. p. 17. *Miscellan. Lipsiens.* tom. i. p. 361, 364, where there is an explication of a satirical medal, struck to expose the sentiments of Becker. See also *Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 193.

hattemists resemble each other in their religious systems, though there must also be some points in which they differ; since it is well known, that Van Hattem could never persuade the former to unite their sect with his, and thus to form one communion. Neither of the two have abandoned the profession of the reformed religion; they affect, on the contrary, an apparent attachment to it; and Hattem, in particular, published a treatise upon the *Catechism of Heidelberg*. If I understand aright the imperfect relations that have been given of the sentiments and principles of these two communities, both their founders began by perverting the doctrine of the reformed church concerning *absolute decrees*, so as to deduce it from the impious system of a *fatal and uncontrollable necessity*. Having laid down this principle, to account for the origin of all events, they went a step further into the domain of atheism, and denied "the difference between *moral good and evil*, and the corruption of human nature." From hence they concluded, "That mankind were under no sort of obligation to correct their manners, to improve their minds, or to endeavour after a regular obedience to the divine laws; that the whole of religion consisted, not in *acting*, but in *suffering*; and that all the precepts of Jesus Christ are reducible to this single one, that we bear with cheerfulness and patience the events that happen to us through the divine will, and make it our constant and only study to maintain a permanent tranquillity of mind."

This, if we are not mistaken, was the common doctrine of the two sects under consideration. There were however certain opinions of fancies, that were peculiar to Hattem and his followers, who affirmed, "That Christ had not satisfied the divine justice, nor made an expiation for the sins of men by his death and sufferings, but had only signified to us, by his mediation, that there was nothing in us that could offend the Deity." Hattem maintained, "That this was Christ's manner of justifying his servants, and presenting them blameless before the tribunal of God." These opinions seem perverse and pestilential in the highest degree; and they evidently tend to extinguish all virtuous sentiments, and to dissolve all moral obligation. It does not however appear, that either of these innovations directly recommended immorality and vice, or thought that men might safely follow, without any restraint, the

impulse of their irregular appetites and passions. It is at least certain, that the following maxim is placed among their tenets, *that God does not punish men for their sins, but by their sins*; and this maxim seems to signify, that, if a man does not restrain his irregular appetites, he must suffer the painful fruits of his licentiousness, both in a present and future life, not in consequence of any judicial sentence pronounced by the will, or executed by the immediate hand of God, but according to some fixed law or constitution of nature.* The two sects still subsist, though they bear no longer the names of their founders.

xxxvii. The churches of Switzerland, so early as the year 1669, were alarmed at the progress which the opinions of Amyraut, De la Place, and Cap-pel, were making in different countries; and they were apprehensive that the doctrine they had received from Calvin, and which had been so solemnly confirmed by the synod of Dort, might be altered and corrupted by these new improvements in theology. This apprehension was so much the less chimerical, as at that very time there were, among the clergy of Geneva, certain doctors eminent for their learning and eloquence, who not only adopted these new opinions, but were also desirous, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of their colleagues, of propagating them among the people.† To set bounds to the zeal of these innovators, and to stop the progress of the new doctrines, the learned John Henry Heidegger, professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed in the year 1675 by an assembly, composed of the most eminent Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine, in direct opposition to the tenets and principles of the celebrated French writers mentioned above. The magistrates were engaged, without much difficulty, to give this production the stamp of their authority; and to add to it the other confessions of faith received in the Helvetic church, under the peculiar denomination of the *Form of Concord*. This step, which seemed to be taken with pacific views, proved an abundant source of division and discord. Many declared, that they could not conscientiously subscribe this new *form*; and thus unhappy tumults and

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the Consensus or Form of Concord.

* See Theod. Hasæ *Dissert. in Museo Bremensi Theol. Philolog.* vol. ii. p. 144. *Bibliothèque Belgique*, tom. ii. p. 203.

† See Leti *Istoria Generrina*, part iv. book v. p. 448. 488. 497. &c.

contests arose in several places. Hence it happened, that the canton of Basil and the republic of Geneva, perceiving the inconveniences that proceeded from this new article of church communion, and strongly solicited, in the year 1686, by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, to ease the burdened consciences of their clergy, abrogated this *form*.² It is nevertheless certain, that in the other cantons it maintained its authority for some time after this period; but, in our time, the discords it has excited in many places, and more particularly in the university of Lausanne, have contributed to deprive it of all its authority, and to sink it into utter oblivion.³

¶ ² It must not be imagined, from this expression of our historian, that this *form*, entitled, the *Consensus*, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus; Mr. Peter Werenfels, who was at the head of the ecclesiastical consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the elector, as to avoid requiring a subscription to this form from the candidates for the ministry; and his conduct, in this respect, was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those that governed the church of Geneva; for the *Consensus*, or *Form of Agreement* maintained its credit and authority there until the year 1706, when, without being abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of Switzerland, it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears by the letters addressed by George I. king of England, as also by the king of Prussia, in the year 1723, to the Swiss cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this *form* or *Consensus*, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the reformed and lutheran churches. See the 'Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des troubles arrivees en Suisse a l'occasion du Consensus,' published in 8vo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1726.

³ See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii 'Schediasma de Formula Consensus Helvetica,' published in 4to. at Tübingen, in the year 1723. 'Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des troubles arrivees en Suisse a l'occasion du Consensus.'

SECTION II.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE ARMINIAN CHURCH.

1. THERE sprung forth from the bosom of the reformed church, during this century, two new sects, whose birth and progress were, for a long time, painful and perplexing to the parent that bore them. These sects were the *arminians* and *quakers*, whose origin was owing to very different principles; since the former derived its existence from an excessive propensity to improve the faculty of reason, and to follow its dictates and discoveries; while the latter sprung up, like a rank weed, from the neglect and contempt of human reason. The arminians derive their name and their origin from James Arminius, or Harmensen, who was first pastor at Amsterdam, afterward professor of divinity at Leyden, and who attracted the esteem and applause of his very enemies, by his acknowledged candour, penetration, and piety.^a They received also the denomination of *remonstrants*, from an humble petition, entitled, their *Remonstrances*, which they addressed, in the year 1610, to the states of Holland, and as the patrons of calvinism presented an address, in opposition to this, which they called

The denomination of arminians, whence.

^a The most ample account we have of this eminent man is given by Braudt, in his *Historia Vitæ Jac. Arminii*, published at Leyden in Svo. in 1724; and the year after by me at Brunswick, with an additional *Preface* and some *Annotations*. See also *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 471. All the works of Arminius are comprised in one moderate quarto volume. The edition I have now before me was printed at Francfort, in the year 1634. They who would form a just and accurate notion of the temper, genius, and doctrine of this divine, will do well to peruse, with particular attention, that part of his works that is known under the title of his *Disputationes publicæ et privæ*. There is, in his manner of reasoning, and also in his phraseology, some little remains of the scholastic jargon of that age; but we find nevertheless in his writings, upon the whole, much of that simplicity and perspicuity which his followers have always looked upon, and still consider, as among the principal qualities of a christian minister. For an account of the arminian *confession of faith*, and the historical writers who have treated of this sect, see Jo. Christ. Koecher's, *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 481

their *counter remonstrances*, so did they, in consequence thereof, receive the name of *counter remonstrants*.

11. Arminius, though he had imbibed in his tender years the doctrines of Geneva, and had even received his theological education in the university of that city, yet rejected, when he arrived at the age of manhood, the sentiments, concerning predestination and the divine decrees, that are adopted by the greatest part of the reformed churches, and embraced the principles and communion of those, whose religious system extends the love of the Supreme Being, and the *merits* of Jesus Christ, to all mankind.^b As time and deep meditation had only served to confirm him in these principles, he thought himself obliged, by the dictates both of candour and conscience, to profess them publicly, when he had obtained the chair of divinity in the university of Leyden, and to oppose the doctrine and sentiments of Calvin on these heads, which had been followed by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. Two considerations encouraged him, in a particular manner, to venture upon this open declaration of his sentiments; for he was persuaded, on the one hand, that there were many persons, beside himself, and, among these, some of the first rank and dignity, that were highly disgusted at the doctrine of absolute decrees; and, on the other, he knew that the Belgic doctors were neither obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt and propagate the principles of Calvin. Thus animated and encouraged, Arminius taught his sentiments publicly, with great freedom and equal success, and persuaded many of the truth of his doctrine; but as calvinism was at this time in a flourishing state in Holland, this freedom procured him a multitude of enemies, and drew upon him the severest marks of disapprobation and resentment from those that adhered to the theological system of Geneva, and more especially from Francis Gomar, his colleague. Thus commenced that long, tedious, and intricate controversy that afterward made such a noise in Europe. Arminius died in the year 1609, when it was just

^b Bertius, in his *Funeral Oration* on Arminius, Brandt, in his *History of his Life*, p. 22, and almost all the ecclesiastical historians of this period, mention the occasion of this change in the sentiments of Arminius. It happened in the year 1591, as appears from the remarkable letter of Arminius to Grynaeus, which bears date that same year, and in which the former proposes to the latter some of his theological doubts. This letter is published in the *Biblioth. Brem. Theol. Philolog.* tom. iii. p. 384.

beginning to involve his country in contention and discord.^c

III. After the death of Arminius, the combat seemed to be carried on, during some years, between the contending parties, with equal success; so that it was not easy to foresee which side would gain the ascendant. The demands of the arminians were moderate; they required no more than a bare toleration for their religious sentiments;^d and some of the first men in the republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several others, looked upon these demands as reasonable and just. It was the opinion of these great men, that as the points in debate had not been determined by the *Belgic confession of faith*, every individual had an unquestionable right to judge for himself; and that more especially in a free state, which had thrown off the yoke of spiritual despotism and civil tyranny. In consequence of this persuasion, they used their utmost efforts to accommodate matters, and left no methods unemployed to engage the calvinists to treat with christian moderation and forbearance their dissenting brethren. These efforts were at first attended with some prospect of success. Maurice, prince of Orange, and the princess dowager his mother, countenanced these pacific measures, though the former became afterward one of the warmest adversaries of the arminians. Hence a conference was held, in the year 1611, at the Hague, between the contending parties; another at Delft, in the year 1613; and hence also that pacific edict issued out in 1614, by the states of Holland, to exhort them to charity and mutual forbearance; not to mention a number of expedients applied in vain to pre-

The progress
of arminian-
ism.

^c The history of this controversy, and of the public discords and tumults it occasioned, is more circumstantially related by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation*, than by any other writer. This excellent history is written in Dutch; but there is an abridgment of it in French, in three volumes 8vo. which has been translated into English. Add to this, Uytenbogard's *Ecclesiastical History*, written also in Dutch. Limborch's *Historia vitæ Episcopii*. The *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*, published by Limborch. Those who desire a more concise view of this contest will find it in Limborch's 'Relatio Historica de origine et progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione et capitibus annexis,' which is subjoined to the latter editions of his *Theologia Christiana*, or Body of Divinity. It is true, all these are arminians, and, as impartiality requires our hearing both sides, the reader may consult Trigland's *Ecclesiastical History*, composed likewise in Dutch, and a prodigious number of polemical writings published against the arminians.

^d This toleration was offered them in the conference held at the Hague, in the year 1611, provided they would renounce the errors of socinianism. See Trigland, *loc. cit.* See also Henry Brandt's *Collatio scripto habita Hagæcomitum*, printed at Zurichæ, in 1715.

vent the schism that threatened the church.^e But these measures confirmed, instead of removing, the apprehensions of the calvinists; from day to day they were still more firmly persuaded, that the arminians aimed at nothing less than the ruin of all religion; and hence they censured their magistrates with great warmth and freedom, for interposing their authority to promote peace and union with such adversaries.^f And those, who are well informed and impartial, must candidly acknowledge, that the arminians were far from being sufficiently cautious in avoiding connexions with persons of loose principles; and that by frequenting the company of those, whose sentiments were entirely different from the received doctrines of the reformed church, they furnished their enemies with a pretext for suspecting their own principles, and presenting their theological system in the worst colours.

iv. It is worthy of observation, that this unhappy controversy, which assumed another form, and was rendered more comprehensive by new subjects of contention, after the synod of Dort, was, at this time confined to the doctrines relating to predestination and grace. The sentiments of the arminians, concerning these intricate points, were comprehended in *five articles*. They held,

“1. That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those whom he foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours.

“2. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular; that however none but those who believe in him can be partakers of their divine benefit.

^e The writers who have given accounts of these transactions are well known; we shall only mention the first and second volumes of the *Histoire de Louis XIII.* by Le Vassor, who treats largely and accurately of these religious commotions, and of the civil transactions that were connected with them.

^f The conduct of the states of Holland, who employed not only the language of persuasion, but also the voice of authority, in order to calm these commotions, and restore peace in the church, was defended, with his usual learning and eloquence, by Grotius, in two treatises. The one, which contains the general principles on which this defence is founded, is entitled, *De jure summarum potestatum circa sacra*; the other, in which these principles are peculiarly applied in justifying the conduct of the states, was published, in the year 1613, under the following title; *Ordinum Hollandiæ ac Westfrisiæ Pietas a multorum calumniis vindicata*.

“ 3. That *true faith* cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of freewill; since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and that therefore it is necessary to his conversion and salvation, that he be *regenerated* and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ.

“ 4. That this *divine grace*, or energy of the Holy Ghost, which heals the disorder of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection every thing that can be called *good* in man; and that, consequently, all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone, and to the operation of his grace; that nevertheless this grace does not *force* the man to act against his inclination, but may be *resisted* and rendered *ineffectual* by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

“ 5. That they who are united to Christ by faith are thereby furnished with abundant strength and with succours sufficient to enable them to triumph over the seduction of satan, and the allurements of sin and temptation; but that the question, *Whether such MAY fall from their faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace*, has not been yet resolved with sufficient perspicuity; and must therefore be yet more carefully examined by an attentive study of what the holy scriptures have declared in relation to this important point.”

It is to be observed, that this last article was afterward changed by the arminians, who, in process of time, declared their sentiments with less caution, and positively affirmed, that *the saints might fall from a state of grace.**

If we are to judge of men's sentiments by their words and declarations, the tenets of the arminians, at the period of time now under consideration, bear a manifest resemblance of the lutheran system. But the calvinists did not judge in this manner; on the contrary, they explained the words and declarations of the arminians according to the notions they had formed of their hidden sentiments; and, instead of judging of their opinions by their expressions,

* The history of the *five articles*, and more particularly of their reception and progress in England, has been written by Dr. Heylin, whose book was translated into Dutch by the learned and eloquent Brandt, and published at Rotterdam in the year 1687.

they judged of their expressions by their opinions. They maintained, that the arminians designed, under these specious and artful declarations, to insinuate the poison of socinianism and pelagianism into unwary and uninstructed minds. The secret thoughts of men are only known to Him, who is the searcher of hearts ; and it is his privilege alone to pronounce judgment upon those intentions and designs that are concealed from public view. But if we were allowed to interpret the *five articles* now mentioned in a sense conformable to what the leading doctors among the arminians have taught in later times concerning these points, it would be difficult to show, that the suspicions of the calvinists were entirely groundless. For it is certain, whatever the arminians may allege to the contrary, that the sentiments of their most eminent theological writers, after the synod of Dort, concerning divine grace, and the other doctrines that are connected with it, approached much nearer to the opinions of the pelagians and semipelagians, than to those of the lutheran church.^b

v. The mild and favourable treatment the arminians received from the magistrates of Holland, and from several persons of merit and distinction, encouraged them to hope that their affairs would take a prosperous turn, or at least that their cause was not desperate, when an unexpected and sudden storm arose against them, and blasted their expectations. This change was owing to causes entirely foreign to religion ; and its origin must be sought for in those connexions, which can scarcely be admitted as possible by the philosopher, but are perpetually presented to the view of the historian. A secret misunderstanding had for sometime subsisted between the stadtholder Maurice, prince of Orange, and some of the principal magistrates and ministers of the new republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets ; and this misunderstanding had at length broke out into an open enmity and discord. The views of this great prince are differently represented by different historians. Some al-

Prince Maurice declares against the arminians.

[E] ^b This is a curious remark. It would seem as if the lutherans were not semipelagians ; as if they considered man as absolutely *passive* in the work of his conversion and sanctification ; but such an opinion surely has never been the general doctrine of the lutheran church, however rigorously Luther may have expressed himself on that head in some unguarded moments ; more especially it may be affirmed, that in later times the lutherans are, to a man, semipelagians ; and let it not be thought, that this is imputed to them as a reproach.

lege, that he had formed the design of getting himself declared count of Holland, a dignity which William I. the glorious founder of Belgic liberty, is also said to have had in view.ⁱ Others affirm, that he only aspired after a greater degree of authority and influence than seemed consistent with the liberties of the republic; it is at least certain, that some of the principal persons in the government suspected him of aiming at supreme dominion. The leading men abovementioned opposed these designs; and these leading men were the patrons of the arminians. The *arminians* adhered to these their patrons and defenders, without whose aid they could have no prospect of security or protection. Their adversaries the *gomarists*, on the contrary, seconded the views, and espoused the interests of the prince, and inflamed his resentment, which had been already more or less kindled by various suggestions, to the disadvantage of the arminians, and of those who protected them. Thus, after mutual suspicions and discontents, the flame broke out with violence; and Maurice resolved the downfall of those who ruled the republic, without showing a proper regard to his counsels; and also of the arminians, who espoused their cause. The leading men, that sat at the helm of government, were cast into prison.— Oldenbarneveldt, a man of gravity and wisdom, whose hairs were grown gray in the service of his country, lost his life on a public scaffold; while Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to a perpetual prison,^b under what

ⁱ That Maurice aimed at the dignity of Count of Holland, we learn from Aubery's *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies*, sect. ii. p. 216, ed. Paris. If we are to believe Aubery, informed by his father, who was at that time, ambassador of France at the Hague, Oldenbarneveldt disapproved of this design, prevented its execution, and lost his life by his bold opposition to the views of the prince. This account is looked upon as erroneous by Le Vassor, who takes much pains to refute it, and indeed with success, in his *Histoire de Louis XIII* tom. ii. p. ii. p. 123. Le Ciere, in his *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134. and in his *History of the United Provinces*, endeavours to confirm what is related by Aubery; and also avirms that the project, formed by Maurice, had been formed before by his father. The determination of this debated point is not necessary to our present purpose. It is sufficient to observe, what is acknowledged on all sides, that Oldenbarneveldt and his associates suspected prince Maurice of a design to encroach upon the liberties of the republic, and to arrogate to himself the supreme dominion. Hence the zeal of Barneveldt to weaken his influence and to set bounds to his authority; hence the indignation and resentment of Maurice; and hence the downfall of the arminian sect, which enjoyed the patronage, and adhered to the interests, of Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius.

^b The truth of this general account of these unhappy divisions will undoubtedly be acknowledged by all parties, particularly at this period of time, when these tumults and commotions have subsided, and the spirit of party is less blind, partial, and violent. And the candid and ingenuous calvinists who acknowledge this, will not thereby do the smallest prejudice to their cause. For should they even grant, what I neither pretend to affirm nor deny, that their ancestors, carried away by the impetuous spirit of

pretext, or in consequence of what accusations or crimes, is unknown to us.' As the arminians were not charged with any violation of the laws, but merely with departing from the established religion, their cause was not of such a nature as rendered it cognisable by a civil tribunal. That however this cause might be regularly condemned, it was judged proper to bring it before an ecclesiastical assembly or national synod. This method of proceeding was agreeable to the sentiments and principles of the calvinists, who are of opinion that all spiritual concerns and religious con-

the times, defended their religious opinions in a manner that was far from being consistent with the dictates of moderation and prudence, no rational conclusion can be drawn from this, either against them or the goodness of their cause. For it is well known, both by observation and experience, that unjustifiable things have often been done by men, whose characters and intentions, in the general, were good and upright; and that a good cause has frequently been maintained by methods that would not bear a rigorous examination. What I have said with brevity on this subject is confirmed and amplified by Le Clerc, in his *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, and the *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134, and also by Grotius, in his 'Apologeticus eorum, qui Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ, et vicinis quibusdam nationibus præferant ante mutationem quæ evenit,' An. 1618. The life of Oldenbarneveldt, written in Dutch, was published at the Hague in 4to. in the year 1648. The history of his trial, and of the judgment pronounced on the famous triumvirate, mentioned above, was drawn by Gerard Brandt, from authentic records, and published under the following title: 'Histoire van de Rechtspleginge gehouden in den jgaren 1618, et 1619, omtrent de drie gevargene Heeren Johann Van Oldenbarneveldt, Rombout Hoogerheets, en Hugo de Groot;' a third edition of this book, augmented with annotations, was published in 4to. at Rotterdam, in the year 1723. The 'History of the Life and Actions of Grotius,' composed in Dutch by Caspar Brandt and Adrian Van Cattenburgh, and drawn mostly from original papers, cast a considerable degree of light on the history of the transactions now before us. This famous work was published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, at Dort and Amsterdam, under the following title: 'Histoire van het leven des Heeron Hnig de Groot, beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandchap wegens de Koninginne en Kroon evan Zweden aanit Hof van Vrankryck door Caspard Brandt, en vervolgt tot zyn dood door Adrian Van Cattenburgh.' Those who desire to form a true and accurate notion of the character and conduct of Grotius, and to see him as it were near hand, must have recourse to this excellent work; since all the other accounts of this great man are insipid, lifeless, and exhibit little else than a poor shadow, instead of a real and animated substance. The life of Grotius, composed by Burigni in French, and published successively at Paris and Amsterdam, in two volumes 8vo. deserves perhaps to be included in this general censure; it is at least a very indifferent and superficial performance. There appeared in Holland a warm vindication of the memory of this great man, in a work published at Delft, in 1727, and entitled, 'Grotii Maues ah iniquis obtreactionibus vindicati; accedit scriptorum ejus, tum editorum tum ineditorum, Conspectus Triplex.' See the following note.

Dr. Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of one side than of the other; probably because they are more numerous, and more universally known. When he published this history, the world was not favoured with the *Lettres, Memoirs, and Negotiations* of sir Dudley Carleton; which lord Royston, now earl of Hardwick, drew forth some years ago from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons, to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these *Negotiations*, printed at his own expense. They were soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed, that the spirit of party is no where discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes with respect both to Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, that the arminians, and the other patrons of these two great men, have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be at all sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would however have prevented Dr. Mosheim from saying, that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested.

troversies ought to be judged and decided by an ecclesiastical assembly or council.^m

VI. Accordingly a synod was convoked at Dort, in the year 1618, by the counsels and influence of prince Maurice,ⁿ at which were present ecclesiastical ^{The synod of Dort.} deputies from the United Provinces, as also from the churches of England, Hessa, Breiten, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. The leading men among the arminians appeared before this famous assembly, to defend their cause; and they had at their head, Simon Episcopius, who was, at that time, professor of divinity at Leyden, had formerly been the disciple of Arminius, and was admired, even by his enemies, on account of the depth of his judgment, the extent of his learning, and the force of his eloquence. This eminent man addressed a discourse, full of moderation, gravity, and elocution, to the assembled divines; but this was no sooner finished, than difficulties arose, which prevented the *conference* the arminians had demanded, in order to show the grounds, in reason and scripture, on which their opinions were founded. The arminian deputies proposed to begin the defence of their cause by refuting the opinions of the calvinists, their adversaries. This proposal was rejected by the synod, which looked upon the arminians as a set of men that lay under the charge of heresy; and therefore thought it incumbent upon them first to declare and prove their own opinions, before they could be allowed to combat the sentiments of others. The design of the arminians, in the proposal they made, was probably to get the people on their side, by such an unfavourable representation of the calvinistical system, and of the harsh consequences, that seem deducible from it, as might excite a disgust, in the minds of those that were present, against its patrons and abettors. And it is more than probable, that one of the principal reasons, that engaged the members of the synod to reject this proposal,

^m The calvinists are not particular in this; and indeed it is natural that debates, purely theological, should be discussed in an assembly of divines.

ⁿ Our author always forgets to mention the order, issued out by the states general, for the convocation of this famous synod; and by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by the phrase, *Mauritio auctore*, would seem to insinuate, that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together. The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarneveldt, who maintained that the states general had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod; affirming that this was an act of sovereignty, that belonged to each province separately and respectively. See Carleton's *Letters*, &c.

was a consideration of the genius and eloquence of Episcopius, and an apprehension of the effects they might produce upon the multitude. When all the methods employed to persuade the arminians to submit to the manner of proceeding, proposed by the synod, proved ineffectual, they were excluded from that assembly, and returned home, complaining bitterly of the rigour and partiality with which they had been treated. Their cause was nevertheless tried in their absence, and in consequence of a strict examination of their writings, they were pronounced guilty of pestilential errors, and condemned as corrupters of the true religion. This sentence was followed by its natural effects, which were the excommunication of the arminians, the suppression of their religious assemblies, and the deprivation of their ministers. In this unhappy contest, the candid and impartial observer will easily perceive that there were faults committed on both sides. Which of the contending parties is most worthy of censure is a point, whose discussion is foreign to our present purpose.^o

vii. We shall not here appreciate either the merit or demerit of the divines, that were assembled in this famous synod; but we cannot help observing that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue, have been exalted beyond all measure by the calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and their other defects, have been exaggerated with a certain degree of malignity by the arminians.^p There is no sort of doubt, but that, among the members of this assembly, who sat in judgment upon the arminians, there were several persons equally distinguished by their learning, piety, and integrity, who acted with up-

The judgment that ought to be formed concerning this synod.

^oThe writers who have given accounts of the synod of Dort are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation in the United Provinces*; but, as this author is an arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in two volumes 4to. at Amsterdam, in the year 1705 and 1707, under the following title; *'Eere van de Nationale Synode, van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de beschuldigingen van G. Brandt.'* After comparing diligently these two productions, I could see no enormous error in Brandt; for in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes from whence they proceeded. The reader will do well to consult the *Letters* of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hales of Eaton, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of this famous synod, and who relates with candour and simplicity what he saw and heard.

^pAll that appeared unfair to the arminians in the proceedings of this synod, has been collected together in a Dutch book, entitled, *'Nallieten, Mishandelingen, ende anbyllike Procedurin, des Nationalen Synodi gehouden binnen Dordrecht,'* &c.

right intentions, and had not the least notion, that the steps they were taking, or encouraging, were at all inconsistent with equity and wisdom. On the other hand, it appears with the utmost evidence, that the arminians had reason to complain of several circumstances that strike us in the history of this remarkable period. It is plain, in the first place, that the ruin of their community was a point not only premeditated, but determined even before the meeting of the national synod;^a and that this synod was not so much assembled to examine the doctrine of the arminians, in order to see whether it was worthy of toleration and indulgence, as to publish and execute, with a certain solemnity, with an air of justice, and with the suffrage and consent of foreign divines, whose authority was respectable, a sentence already drawn up, and agreed upon by those who had the principal direction in these affairs. It is further to be observed, that the accusers and adversaries of the arminians were their judges, and that Bogerman, who presided in this famous synod, was distinguished by his peculiar hatred of that sect; that neither the Dutch nor foreign divines had the liberty of giving their suffrage according to their own private sentiments, but were obliged to deliver the opinions of the princes and magistrates, of whose orders they were the depositaries;^c that the influence of the lay deputies, who appeared in the synod, with commissions from the states general and the prince of Orange, was still superior to that of the ecclesiastical members, who sat as judges; and lastly, that the solemn promise, made to the arminians, when they were summoned before the synod, that "they should be allowed the freedom of explaining and defending their opinions, as far as they thought proper, or necessary to their justification," was manifestly violated.^d

^a This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it.

^b Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission but from their respective consistories, or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies; nor are they ever depositaries of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other foreign doctors that appeared in the synod of Dort, the case perhaps may have been somewhat different.

^c See Le Vassor, *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. livr. xii. p. 365, 366. And Mosheim's preface to the Latin translation of Hale's account of the synod of Dort, p. 394—400.

VIII. The arminians, in consequence of the decision of the synod, were considered as enemies of their country and of its established religion; and they were accordingly treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their posts and employments, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and, which they looked upon as a yet more intolerable instance of the rigour of their adversaries, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations were suppressed. They refused obedience to the order, by which their pastors were prohibited from performing, in public, their ministerial functions; and thus drew upon themselves anew the resentment of their superiors, who punished them by fines, imprisonment, exile, and other marks of ignominy. To avoid these vexations, many of them retired to Antwerp, others fled to France; while a considerable number, accepting the invitation sent to them by Frederic, duke of Holstein, formed a colony, which settled in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called Frederickstadt, in the dutchy of Sleswyck, where they still live happy and unmolested, in the open profession and free exercise of their religion. The heads of this colony were persons of distinction, who had been obliged to leave their native country on account of these troubles, particularly Adrian Vander Wael, who was the first governor of the new city.^u Among the persecuted ecclesiasties, who followed this colony, were the famous Vorstius, who, by his religious sentiments, which differed but little from the socinian system, had rendered the arminians particularly odious, Grevinckhovius, a man of a resolute spirit, who had been pastor at Rotterdam, Goulart, Grevius, Walters, Narsius, and others.^w

They are recalled from exile.

IX. After the death of prince Maurice, which happened in the year 1625, the arminian exiles experienced the mildness and clemency of his brother and successor, Frederic Henry, under whose admi-

^u The history of this colony is accurately related in the famous letters published by Philip Limborch and christian Hartsorker, entitled, *Epistolæ præstantium et eruditiorum virorum Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*, of which the last edition was published in folio, at Amsterdam, in the year 1704. See also Jo. Mollerii *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbrica*, p. ii. p. 108, and Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 714.

^w For an ample account of Vorstius, see Jo. Mollerii *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 931, as also p. 242, 247, 249, 255, 576, where we find a particular account of the other ecclesiasties abovementioned.

nistration they were recalled from banishment, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of France and in the Spanish Netherlands, were the first that embraced this occasion of returning to their native country, where they erected churches in several places, and more particularly in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, under the mild shade of a religious toleration. That they might also have a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles, they founded a college at Amsterdam, in which two professors were appointed to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the various branches of literature and science, sacred and profane. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of theology among the arminians; and since his time, the seminary now mentioned has been, generally speaking, furnished with professors eminent for their learning and genius, such as Courcelles, Poelenburg, Limborch, Le Clerc, Cattenburgh,* and Wetstein.

x. We have already seen, that the original difference between the arminians and the calvinists was entirely confined to the *five points* mentioned above, relative to the doctrines of predestination and grace; and it was the doctrine of the *former* concerning these points alone that occasioned their condemnation in the Synod of Dort. It is further to be observed, that these five points, as explained at that time by the arminians, seemed to differ very little from the lutheran system. But after the synod of Dort, and more especially after the return of the arminian exiles into their native country, the theological system of this community underwent a remarkable change, and assumed an aspect, that distinguished it entirely from that of all other christian churches. For then they gave a new explication of these *five articles*, that made them almost coincide with the doctrine of those who deny the necessity of divine succours in the work of conversion, and in the paths of virtue. Nay, they went still further, and, bringing the greatest part of the doctrines of Christianity before the tribunal of reason, they modified them considerably, and reduced them to an excessive degree of

The ancient
and modern
arminianism.

* There is an accurate account of these and the other arminian writers given by Adrian Van Cattenburgh, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, printed in 8vo. at Amsterdam. in the year 1728.

simplicity. Arminius, the parent and founder of the community, was, undoubtedly, the inventor of this new form of doctrine, and taught it to his disciples;^y but it was first digested into a regular system, and embellished with the charms of a masculine eloquence, by Episcopius, whose learning and genius have given him a place among the arminian doctors, next to their founder.^z


xi. The great and ultimate end the arminians seem to have in view, is; that christians, though divided in their opinions, may be united in fraternal charity and love, and thus be formed into one family or community, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological sentiments. In order to execute their benevolent purpose, they maintain, that Christ demands from his servants more *virtue* than *faith*; that he has confined that belief which is essential to salvation to a few articles: that, on the other hand, the rules of practice he has prescribed are extremely large in their extent; and that charity and virtue ought to be the principal study of true christians. Their definition of a true christian is somewhat la-

The great end proposed by the arminian system, and its principal heads.

y It is a common opinion, that the ancient arminians, who flourished before the synod of Dort, were much more sound in their opinions, and strict in their morals, than those who have lived after this period; that Arminius himself only rejected the calvinistical doctrine of absolute decrees, and what he took to be its immediate consequences, adopting in all other points the doctrines received in the reformed churches; but that his disciples, and more especially Episcopius, had boldly transgressed the bounds that had been wisely prescribed by their master, and had gone over to the pelagians, and even to the socinians. Such, I say, is the opinion commonly entertained concerning this matter. But it appears, on the contrary, evident to me, that Arminius himself had laid the plan of that theological system, that was, in after times, embraced by his followers, and that he had instilled the main principles of it into the minds of his disciples; and that these latter, and particularly Episcopius, did really no more than bring this plan to a greater degree of perfection, and propagate, with more courage and perspicuity, the doctrines it contained. I have the testimony of Arminius to support this notion, beside many others that might be alleged in its behalf; for, in the *last will*, made by this eminent man, a little before his death, he plainly and positively declares, that the great object he had in view, in all his theological and ministerial labours, was to unite in one community, cemented by the bonds of fraternal charity, all sects and denominations of christians, the papists excepted; his words, as they are recorded in the funeral oration, which was composed on occasion of his death by Bertius, are as follow: “*Ea proposui et docui . . . quæ ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem Christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem juxta verbum Dei possent conferre, excludens ex iis papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest.*” These words, in their amount, coincide perfectly with the modern system of arminianism, which extend the limits of the christian church, and relaxes the bonds of fraternal communion in such a manner, that christians of all sects and all denominations, whatever their sentiments and opinions may be, papists excepted, may be formed into one religious body, and live together in brotherly love and concord.

z The life of this eminent man was composed in Latin by the learned and judicious Limborch, and is singularly worthy of an attentive perusal. It was published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in the year 1701.

titudinarian in point of belief. According to their account of things, every person is a genuine subject of the kingdom of Christ; "1. Who receives the holy scriptures, and more especially the New Testament, as a rule of his faith, however he may think proper to interpret and explain these sacred oracles; 2. Who abstains from idolatry and polytheism, with all their concomitant absurdities; 3. Who leads a decent, honest, and virtuous life, directed and regulated by the laws of God; and, 4. Who never discovers a spirit of persecution, discord, or ill will toward those who differ from him in their religious sentiments, or, in their manner of interpreting the holy scriptures." Thus the wide bosom of the arminian church is opened to all who profess themselves christians, however essentially they may differ from each other in their theological opinions. The papists alone are excluded from this extensive communion, and this because they esteem it lawful^a to persecute those who will not submit to the yoke of the Roman pontiff.^b It is not our design here either to justify or condemn these latitudinarian terms of communion; it is true indeed that, if other christian churches adopted them, diversity of sentiments would be no longer an obstacle to mutual love and concord.

 ^a It is not only on account of their *persecuting spirit*, but also on account of their *idolatrous worship*, that the arminians exclude the papists from their communion. See the following note.

^b For a full and accurate representation of this matter, the reader need scarcely have recourse to any other treatise than that which is published in the first volume of the works of Episcopius, p. 508, under the following title; '*Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de errantibus dilucida declaratio.*' This treatise is written with precision and perspicuity. Le Clerc, in the *Dedication* prefixed to his Latin translation of Dr. Hammond's *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, gives a brief account of the arminian principles and terms of communion in the following words, addressed to the learned men of that sect; "You declare," says he, "that they *only* are excluded from your communion who are chargeable with idolatry; who do not receive the holy scriptures as the rule of faith; who trample upon the precepts of Christ by their licentious manners and actions; and who persecute those who differ from them in matters of religion." Many writers affirm, that the arminians acknowledge as their brethren all those who receive that form of doctrine that is known under the denomination of the *Apostles' Creed*. But that these writers are mistaken, appears sufficiently from what has been already said on this subject; and is further confirmed by the express testimony of Le Clerc, who, in his *Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod.* tom. xxv. p. 110, declares, that it is not true that the arminians admit to their communion all those who receive the *Apostles' Creed*; his words are, "Ils se trompent; ils," the arminians, "offrent la communion a tous ceux, qui recoivent l'écriture sainte comme la seule regle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolâtres ni persecuteurs."

* The original words of Le Clerc are, "Profliteri solentis . . . eos duntaxat a vobis excludi qui (1) idolatrosia sunt contaminati, (2) qui nihil habent scripturam pro fidei norma, (3) qui impuris moribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant, (4) aut qui denique alios religionis causa vexant."

xii. From all this it appears plain enough, that the arminian community was a kind of *medley*, composed of persons of different principles, and that, properly speaking, it could have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine. The arminians however foreseeing that this circumstance might be objected to them as a matter of reproach, and unwilling to pass for a society connected by no common principles or bond of union, have adopted, as their *confession of faith*, a kind of theological system, drawn up by Episcopius, and expressed, for the most part, in the words and phrases of holy scripture.^c But as none of their pastors are obliged, either by oath, declaration, or tacit compact, to adhere strictly to this confession, and as, on the contrary, by the fundamental constitution of this community, every one is authorized to interpret its expressions, which are in effect susceptible of various significations, in a manner conformable to their peculiar sentiments; it evidently follows, that we cannot deduce from thence an accurate and consistent view of arminianism, or know, with any degree of certainty, what doctrines are adopted or rejected by this sect. Hence it happens, that the arminian doctors differ widely among themselves concerning some of the most important doctrines of Christianity; nor are they universally agreed or entirely uniform in their sentiments of almost any one point, if we except the doctrines of predestination and grace. They all indeed unanimously adhere to the doctrine that excluded their ancestors from the communion of the reformed churches, even *that the love of God extends itself equally to all mankind; that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy by an eternal and invincible decree; and that the misery of those that perish comes from themselves*; but they explain this doctrine in a very different manner from that in which it was formerly understood. Be that as it may, this is the fundamental doctrine of the arminians, and whoever opposes it, becomes thereby an adversary to the whole community; whereas those, whose objections are levelled at particular

^c This confession of faith is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin edition of it is to be found in the works of Episcopius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 69. Where may be found also a *Defence* of this *confession* against the objections of the professors of divinity at Leyden.

^d They who will be at the pains of comparing together the theological writings of Episcopius, Courcelles, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Cattenburgh, will see clearly the diversity of sentiments that reigns among the arminian doctors.

tenets, which are found in the writings of the arminian divines, cannot be said, with any degree of propriety, to attack or censure the arminian church, whose theological system, a few articles excepted, is vague and uncertain, and is not characterized by any fixed set of doctrines and principles. Such only attack certain doctors of that communion, who are divided among themselves, and do not agree, even in their explications of the doctrine relating to the extent of the divine love and mercy; though this be the fundamental point that occasioned their separation from the reformed churches.

XIII. The arminian church makes at present but an inconsiderable figure, when compared with the reformed; and, if credit may be given to public report, it declines from day to day. The arminians have still in the United Provinces thirty-four congregations, more or less numerous, which are furnished with eighty-four pastors; beside these, their church at Frederickstadt, in the dutchy of Holstein, still subsists. It cannot however be said, that the credit and influence of their religious principles have declined with the external lustre of their community; since it is well known, that their sentiments were early adopted in several countries, and were secretly received by many who had not the courage to profess them openly. Every one is acquainted with the change that has taken place in the established church of England, whose clergy, generally speaking, since the time of archbishop Laud, have embraced the arminian doctrine concerning predestination and grace; and, since the restoration of Charles II. have discovered a strong propensity to many other tenets of the arminian church. Beside this, whoever has any acquaintance with the world, must know, that in many of the courts of protestant princes, and, generally speaking, among those persons that pretend to be wiser than the multitude, the following fundamental principle of arminianism is adopted; "That those doctrines, whose belief is necessary to salvation, are very few in number; and that every one is to be left at

The present
state of arminianism.

☞ What readers the arminian *Confession of Faith* an uncertain representation of the sentiments of the community is, the liberty in which every pastor is indulged of departing from it, when he finds any of its doctrines in contradiction with his private opinions. See the *Introduction to the Arminian Confession of Faith*, in the third volume of the French abridgment of Brandt's *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*.

full liberty, with respect to his private sentiments of God and religion, provided his life and actions be conformable to the rules of piety and virtue." Even the United Provinces, which saw within their bosom the defeat of arminianism, are at this time sensible of a considerable change in that respect; for while the patrons of calvinism in that republic acknowledge, that the community, which makes an external profession of arminianism, declines gradually both in its numbers and influence, they, at the same time, complain, that its doctrines and spirit gain ground from day to day; that they have even insinuated themselves more or less into the bosom of the established church, and infected the theological system of many of those very pastors who are appointed to maintain the doctrine and authority of the synod of Dort. The progress of arminianism in other countries is abundantly known; and its votaries in France, Geneva, and many parts of Switzerland, are certainly very numerous.^{ee}

^{ee} It may not however be improper to observe here, that the progress of *arminianism* has been greatly retarded, nay, that its cause daily declines in Germany and several parts of Switzerland, in consequence of the ascendant which the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy hath gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning. Leibnitz and Wolf, by attacking that liberty of *indifference*, which is supposed to imply the power of acting not only *without*, but *against* motives, struck at the very foundation of the arminian system. But this was not all; for, by considering that multiplicity of worlds that compose the universe, as one *system* or *whole*, whose greatest possible *perfection* is the *ultimate end* of creating goodness, and the sovereign purpose of governing wisdom, they removed from the doctrine of *predestination* those arbitrary procedures and narrow views, with which the calvinists are supposed to have loaded it, and gave it a new, a more pleasing, and a more philosophical aspect. As the Leibnitians laid down this great *end*, as the supreme object of G^d's universal dominion, and the scope to which *all* his dispensations are directed, so they concluded, that if this *end* was proposed, it *must* be accomplished. Hence the doctrine of necessity, to fulfil the purposes of a *predestination* founded in wisdom and goodness; a necessity, *physical* and *mechanical* in the motions of material and inanimate things, but a necessity, *moral* and *spiritual* in the voluntary determinations of intelligent beings, in consequence of prepollent motives, which produce their effects with *certainty*, though these effects be *contingent*, and by no means the offspring of an absolute and essentially immutable fatality. These principles are evidently applicable to the main doctrines of calvinism; by them *predestination* is confirmed, though modified with respect to its reasons and its ends; by them *irresistible grace*, irresistible in a *moral sense*, is maintained upon the hypothesis of prepollent motives and a moral necessity. The *perseverance of the saints* is also explicable upon the same system, by a series of moral causes producing a series of moral effects. In consequence of all this, several divines of the German church have applied the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy to the illustration of the doctrines of Christianity; and the learned Canzins has written a book expressly to show the eminent use that may be made of that philosophy in throwing light upon the chief articles of our faith. See his *Philosophiæ Leibnitianæ et Wolfianæ Usus in Theologia per præcipua fidei capita*, auctore Isreal. Theoph. Canzio, and of which a *second edition* was published at Francfort and Leipsic, in 1749. See also Wittenbach's *Tentamen Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Methodo Scientifica pertractatæ*, which was published in three vols. 8vo. at Francfort, in 1747. See above all, the famous work of Leibnitz, entitled, *Essais de Theodicæe, sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du mal.* It is remarkable enough, that the Leibnitian system has been embraced by

The external forms of divine worship and ecclesiastical government in the arminian church are almost the same with those that are in use among the *presbyterians*. As however the leading men among the arminians are peculiarly ambitious of maintaining their correspondence and fraternal intercourse with the church of England, and leave no circumstance unimproved that may tend to confirm this union; so they discover, upon all occasions, their approbation of the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government, and profess to regard it as most ancient, as truly sacred, and as superior to all other institutions of church polity.^c

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE SECT CALLED QUAKERS.

THE sect of *quakers* received this denomination, in the year 1650, from Gervas Bennet, Esq. a justice of peace in Derbyshire,³ partly on account of the convulsive agitations and shakings of the body with which their discourses to the people were usually attended, and partly on account of the exhortation addressed to this magistrate by Fox and his companions, who, when they were called before him, desired him, with a loud voice and a vehement emotion of body, to *tremble at the word of the Lord*. However sarcastical this appellation may be, when considered in its origin, the members of this

The rise of
the quakers.
George Fox.

very few, scarcely by any of the English calvinists. Can this be owing to a want of inclination toward philosophical discussions? This cannot be said. The scheme of necessity and of partial evils tending to universal good, has indeed been fostered in some parts of Great Britain, and even has turned some zealous arminians into moderate and philosophical calvinists. But the zealous calvinists have, for the most part, held firm to their theology, and blended no philosophical principles with their system; and it is certain, that the most eminent philosophers have been found, generally speaking, among the arminians. If both calvinists and arminians claim a king, it is certain that the latter alone can boast of a Newton, a Locke, a Clark, and a Boyle.

Hence, to omit many other circumstances that show unquestionably the truth of this observation, the arminians have been at great pains to represent Grotius, their hero and their oracle, as a particular admirer of the constitution and government of the church of England, which he preferred before all other forms of ecclesiastical polity. See what Le Clerc has published on this subject, at the end of the edition of Grotius's book, *De Veritate Religionis Christiana*, which he gave at the Hague in the year 1724, p. 376.

^c See George Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, p. 23. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 32.

sect are willing to adopt it, provided it be rightly understood; they prefer nevertheless to be called, in allusion to that doctrine that is the fundamental principle of their association, *children*, or *confessors of light*. In their conversation and intercourse with each other, they use no other term of appellation than that of *friend*.^h

This sect had its rise in England, in those unhappy times of confusion, anarchy, and civil discord, when every political or religious fanatic, that had formed new plans of government, or invented new systems of theology, came forth with his novelties to public view, and propagated them with impunity among a fickle and unthinking multitude. Its parent and founder was George Fox,ⁱ a shoemaker, of a dark and melancholy complexion, and of a visionary and enthusiastic turn of mind. About the year 1647, which was the twenty third year of his age, he began to stroll through several counties in England, giving himself out for a person *divinely inspired*, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the *divine word*, that lies hid in the hearts of all men. After the execution of Charles I. when all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, seemed to be entirely suspended, if not extinct, Fox exerted his fanatical powers with new vigour, and formed more ambi-

^h Sewel, *loc. cit.* p. 624.

ⁱ The anonymous writer of *A Letter to Dr. Formey, F. R. S.* published by Nicol, seems much offended at Mr. Formey on account of his calling George Fox a man of a *turbulent spirit*, &c. He tells us, on the contrary, that, from all the information worthy of credit which he was able to procure, it appears that Fox was "a man of so meek, contented, easy, steady, and tender a disposition, that it was a pleasure to be in his company; that he exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where and in all, but with love, compassion, and long suffering." This account he takes from Penn; and it is very probable that he has looked no farther, unless it be to the curious portrait which Thomas Ellwood, another quaker, has given of Fox, a portrait in which there is such an affected jingle of words, as shows the author to have been more attentive to the arrangement of his sentences, than to a true exhibition of the character of his original; for we are told by Ellwood, that this same George Fox was deep in divine knowledge, powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, *risum teneatis, amici*; manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, &c. &c. After having thus painted George after the fancy of his two brethren, for fancy is the quaker's fountain of light and truth, the letter writer observes, that Dr. Formey has taken his account of George's turbulence and fanaticism from Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. As Mosheim then is dead, and cannot defend himself, may I be permitted to beg of this anonymous letter writer, who appears to be a candid and a rational man, to cast an eye upon Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, and to follow this meek, courteous, and modest George, running like a wild man through several counties, refusing homage to his sovereign, interrupting the ministers in the public celebration of divine service at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Market Bosworth? It is remarkable, that the very learned and worthy Dr. Henry More, who was not himself without a strong tincture of enthusiasm, and who looked upon Penn as a pious christian, treated nevertheless George Fox as a melancholy fanatic, and as one possessed with the devil. See his *Myst. of Godliness* h. z. ch. 13. As also *Schol. in Dialogue*. v. 55

tious and extensive views. Having acquired a considerable number of disciples of both sexes, who were strongly infected with his wild enthusiasm, he excited great tumults in several parts of England; and, in the year 1650, went so far as to disturb the devotion of those that were assembled in the churches for the purposes of public worship, declaring, that all such assemblies were useless and unchristian. For these extravagances, both he and his companions were frequently cast into prison, and chastised, as disturbers of the peace, by the civil magistrate.^k

ii. The first association of quakers was composed mostly of visionary fanatics, and of persons that really seemed to be disordered in their brains; and hence they committed many enormities, which the modern quakers endeavour to alleviate and diminish, but which they neither pretend to justify nor to approve. For

The first attempts of this sect under Cromwell.

^k Beside the ordinary writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, the curious reader will do well to consult Croesii 'Historia Quakeriana, Tribus Libris comprehensa,' the second edition of which was published in Svo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1703. A physician named Kolhansius, who was born a lutheran, but turned quaker, published critical remarks upon this history, under the title of 'Dilucidationes,' which were first printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1696. And it must be acknowledged, that there are many inaccuracies in the history of Croesius; it is however much less faulty than another history of this sect, which was published at Cologne in 12mo. in the year 1692, under the following title; 'Histoire abregee de la naissance et du progres du Kouakerisme avec celle de ses dogmes;' for the anonymous author of this latter history, instead of relating well attested facts, has compiled, without either discernment or choice, such an extravagant medley of truth and falsehood, as is rather adapted to excite laughter than to administer instruction. See the second book of Croesius's 'Historia Quakeriana,' p. 322, and 376; as also Le Clerc, 'Biblioth. Universelle et Historique,' tom. xxii. p. 53. The most ample and authentic account of this sect is that which was composed by George Sewel, from a great variety of genuine records, and partly from the papers of Fox, its founder, and published under the following title; 'The History of the Christian people called Quakers.' This work is remarkable both for the industry and accuracy which the author has discovered in compiling it. But as Sewel was himself a quaker, so he is sometimes chargeable with concealing, diminishing, or representing under artful colours, many things which, if impartially related, must have appeared dishonourable, and might have proved detrimental, to his community. It must however be granted, that notwithstanding these defects, Sewel's history is abundantly sufficient to enable an impartial and intelligent reader to form a just and satisfactory idea of this visionary sect. Voltaire has also entertained the public with 'Four Letters,' concerning the religion, manners, and history of the quakers, in his 'Melanges de Litterature d'Histoire et de Philosophie,' which are written with his usual wit and elegance, but are rather adapted to amuse than instruct. The conversation between him and Andrew Pitt, an eminent quaker in London, which is related in these Letters, may be true in general; but to render the account of it still more pleasing, the ingenious writer has embellished it with effusions of wit and fancy, and even added some particulars, that are rather drawn from imagination than memory. It is from the books already mentioned, that the French 'Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers,' which is placed in the third volume of the splendid work, entitled, 'Ceremonies et coutumes Religieuses de tout les Peuples,' is chiefly compiled, though with less attention and accuracy than might have been expected. A lutheran writer, named Frederic Ernest Meis, has given an account of the English quakers in a German work, entitled, 'Entwurf der Kirchen Ordnung und Gebrauche der Quacker in England.'

the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree ; and even their female disciples, forgetting the delicacy and decency peculiar to their sex, bore their part in these disorders. They ran, like bacchanals, through the towns and villages, declaiming against episcopacy, presbyterianism, and every fixed form of religion ; railed at public and stated worship ; affronted and mocked the clergy, even in the very exercise of their ministerial functions ;^{kk} trampled upon the laws and upon the authority of the magistrates, under the pretext of being actuated by a divine impulse ; and made use of their pretended inspiration to excite the most vehement commotions both in state and church. Hence it is not at all surprising, that the secular arm was at length raised against these pernicious fanatics, and that many of them were severely chastised for their extravagance and folly.^l Cromwell himself, who was, generally speaking, an enemy to no sect, however enthusiastical it might be, entertained uneasy apprehensions from the frantic violence of the quakers, and therefore, in his first thoughts, formed a resolution to suppress their ris-

^{kk} A female, contrary to the modesty of her sex, came into Whitehall chapel stark naked, in the midst of public worship, when Cromwell was there present. Another came into the parliament house with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, "Thus shall he be broke in pieces." Thomas Adams, having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and not finding redress, he took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." Several, pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets, denouncing the judgment of God against the protector and his council ; and one came to the door of the parliament house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying, "He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house." The most extravagant quaker that appeared in this time, was James Naylor, formerly an officer, a man of parts, and so much admired by these fanatics, that they blasphemously styled him, "The everlasting son of righteousness ; the prince of peace ; the only begotten son of God ; the fairest among ten thousand." See Neal's *History of the Puritans* ; *The Life and Trial of Naylor*, p. 6, 7, &c. The anonymous author of the "Letter to Dr. Formey, F. R. S." seems to have lost sight of the state of quakerism in the time of Fox, when he denies that the charge of turbulence and fanaticism can be proved against him or his friends, and gives the gentle denomination of *imprudence* to the extravagances exhibited by the quakers under Charles I. and the commonwealth. The single story of Naylor, who was the convert and pupil of Fox, the letters, full of blasphemous absurdity, written to this *Rose of Sharon*, this *new Jesus*, by Hannah Stranger, Richard Fairman, and others, show the horrid vein of fanaticism that ran through this visionary sect. See these letters in the "Life and Trial of Naylor," who, though cruelly scourged, was however whipped into his senses. or at least, brought by his sufferings into a calmer state of mind. See also "Satan Enthroned," &c. p. 4, and 5. If quakerism be now in England on a more rational footing, we may congratulate its members upon the happy change, but at the same time condole with them on the approaching annihilation of their sect ; for if *reason* gets in among them, the *spirit*, I mean *their spirit*, will soon be quenched, and fancy bring no more the only criterion of truth, the fundamental principle of their existence will be destroyed. In such a catastrophe, the abettors of ancient quakerism will find some resource among the methodists.

^l Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' vol. iv. p. 153. Sewel's *History*, &c. *passim*.

ing community. But when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threatenings, and were, in effect, too powerful or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from the use of force, and contented himself with employing wise measures and precautions to prevent their fomenting sedition among the people, or undermining the foundations of his new sovereignty.^m

III. In process of time, the fumes of this excessive fanaticism began to evaporate, and the ardent impetuosity of the rising sect seemed gradually to subside; nor did the *divine light*, of which the quakers boast, produce such tumults in church and state, as at the first declaration of their celestial pretensions. Under the reign of Charles II. both their religious doctrine and discipline assumed a more regular and permanent form, by the care and industry of Fox, assisted, in this very necessary undertaking, by Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Samuel Fisher, men of learning and abilities, who became, notwithstanding, members of this strange community. Fox stood in urgent need of such able assistants; for his gross ignorance had rendered his religion, hitherto, a confused medley of incoherent tenets and visions. The new triumvirate therefore used their utmost endeavours to digest these under certain heads, and to reduce them to a sort of theological system.ⁿ But such was the change of times, that the wiser and more moderate quakers in England suffered more vexations, and were involved in greater calamities, than had fallen to the lot of their frantic and turbulent ancestors. These vexations indeed were not so much the consequence of their religious principles, as of their singular customs and manners in civil life. For they would never give to magistrates those titles of honour and pre-eminence that are designed to mark the respect due to their authority; they also refused obstinately to take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign,^o and to pay tithes to

The progress
of this sect under
Charles II.
and James II.

^m Clarendon tells us, in his 'History of the Rebellion,' that the quakers always persevered in their bitter enmity against Cromwell. See Sewel's *History*, book i. p. 91, 113, 148, 149.

ⁿ For an account of the life and writings of Barclay, see the *General Dictionary*. Sewel, in his *History of the Quakers*, gives an ample account of Keith. There is also particular mention made of Fisher, in a German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachricht*, 1750, p. 338.

^o This refusal to take the oath of allegiance did not proceed from any disaffection to the government, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful, and that

the clergy; hence they were looked upon as rebellious subjects, and on that account were frequently punished with great severity.^p Under the reign of James II. and more particularly about the year 1685, they began to see more prosperous days, and to enjoy the sweets of toleration and liberty, which they owed, not to the clemency of the government, but to the friendship of that monarch for the famous William Penn,^q who had been employed by him in matters of the utmost moment, and had rendered him signal and important services.^r What James had done, from motives of a personal or political nature, in favour of the quakers, king William III. confirmed and continued, from a zeal for maintaining the rights of conscience, and advancing the cause of religious liberty. From these motives, he procured a full and ample toleration for dissenters of almost all denominations; and the quakers, in consequence of this grant, enjoyed at length, upon a constitutional footing, tranquillity and freedom.^s

iv. Fatigued with the vexations and persecution which they suffered in their native country during the reign of Charles II. the *quakers* looked about for some distant settlements, where they might shelter themselves from the storm; and with this view began to

The propagation of quakerism out of England.

swearing, even upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. They also sincerely believed, that they were as much obliged to obedience by an *affirmation*, which they were willing to make, as by an oath.

^p See a circumstantial account of their sufferings under Charles II. in Nenl's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 313, 353, 396, 432, 510, 518, 552, 569. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 271. Sewel, *loc. cit.* passim.

^q See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*.

^r The indulgence of James II. towards the *quakers*, and other dissenters from the established church, was, at bottom, founded on a zeal for popery, and designed to favour the Roman catholics. More particularly the order he sent to the lord mayor of London, the 7th November 1687, to dispense with the quakers' not swearing, was evidently designed to open a door to the Roman catholics to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. At the same time it was probable enough, that a personal attachment to the famous William Penn may have contributed to render this monarch more indulgent to this sect than he would otherwise have been. The reasons of this attachment are differently represented. Some suppose it to have been owing to the services of his father in the fleet commanded against the Dutch, in the year 1665, by King James, when duke of York. Others attribute this attachment to his personal services. From the high degree of favour he enjoyed at court, they conclude that he was a concealed papist, and assisted the king in the execution of his designs. That the imputation of popery was groundless, appears from his correspondence with Dr. Tillotson, which is published in the *Life of Penn*, that is prefixed to the first volume of the works of the latter. It is nevertheless certain, that he was very intimate with father Peters, the hot headed jesuit, whose bigotry formed the king's projects, and whose imprudence rendered them abortive. It is also certain, that, in the year 1686, he went over to Holland, in order to persuade the prince of Orange to come into king James's measures.

^s *Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire*, tom. iv. p. 182.

disseminate their religious principles in various countries. Attempts of this nature were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but with little success. The Dutch however were, after much importunity, persuaded to allow a certain number of these enthusiasts to settle in Holland, where they still continue to reside. Multitudes of them also went over to America, and formed settlements there not long after the first rise of their sect; and it afterward happened, by a singular concurrence of events, that this new world became the chief seat of their prosperity and freedom. William Penn, son of the famous vice admiral of that name, who embraced *quakerism* in the year 1668, received, in the year 1680, from Charles II. and from the English parliament, the grant of an ample, fertile, but uncultivated province in America, as a reward for the eminent services of his father. This illustrious quaker, who was far from being destitute of parts, and whose activity and penetration were accompanied with an uncommon degree of eloquence,[†] carried over with him into his new dominions a considerable colony of his *friends* and brethren; and he founded in those distant regions a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions, resembled no other known system of government, whose pacific principles and commercial spirit have long blessed it with tranquillity and opulence, and which still continues in a prosperous and flourishing state.[‡] The *quakers* predominate in this colony, both by their influence and their numbers; but all those who acknowledge the existence and providence of one Supreme Being, and show their respect to that Being, either by external worship, or at least by the regularity of their lives and actions, are admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in this happy republic. The large province that constitutes its territory was called Pennsylvania, from the name of its proprietor; and its capital city was named Philadelphia, from the spirit of union and fraternal love that reigned at

[†] Bishop Burnet, who knew Penn personally, says, that "he was a talking vain man, who had such a high opinion of his own eloquence, that he thought nothing could stand before it; and that he had a tedious *luscious* way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience."

[‡] The laws and charters of the colony of Pennsylvania may be seen in Rapin's History, Penn's Works, and in other collections of public records; they are also inserted in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xy. p. 310, tom. xvi. p. 127. Penn acquired a great reputation, both by his writings and the active figure he made in life. See the accounts given of him by Sewel and Burnet.

first, and is still supposed to prevail, more or less, among its inhabitants.

v. Even during the life of their founder, the quakers, notwithstanding their extraordinary pretensions to fraternal charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. The intestine disputes and contests of the quakers. These debates indeed which were carried on in the years 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were not occasioned by any doctrines of a religious nature, but by a diversity of opinions about matters of discipline, about certain customs and manners, and other affairs of little moment; and they were generally terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty.^w But, after the death of Fox, which happened in the year 1691, some *friends*, and more especially George Keith, who was by far the most learned member of the community, excited, by their doctrines and innovations, new discords of a much more serious and momentous kind than those which had before divided the *brethren*. This fountain of contention was opened in Pennsylvania, where Keith was charged with erroneous opinions concerning several points of theology, and more particularly concerning the *human nature of Christ*, which he supposed to be twofold, the one spiritual and celestial, the other corporeal and terrestrial.^x This and other inventions of Keith would perhaps have passed without censure, among a people who reduce the whole of religion to fancy and a kind of spiritual instinct, had not this learned man animadverted, with a certain degree of severity, upon some of the fantastic notions of the American brethren, and opposed, in a more particular manner, their method of converting the whole history of Christ's life and sufferings into a mere allegory, or symbolical representation of the duties of Christianity. The European *quakers* dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as to deny openly the *reality* of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to express themselves, without ambiguity, on this subject, and to maintain publicly, that Christ never existed, but in the hearts of the *faithful*. This point

^w See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*.

^x *Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du monde*, tom. iv. p. 141. Croesi *Historia Quakeriana*, lib. iii. p. 416.

was debated between Keith and his adversaries, in several general assemblies of the sect held in England, and was at length brought before the parliament. The contest was terminated, in the year 1695, by the excommunication of Keith and his adherents, which so exasperated this famous *quaker*; ^y that he returned, some years after this, into the bosom of the English church, and died in its communion.^z His friends and followers continued, for a long time, to hold their assemblies, and exercise their religion, in a state of separation from the rest of the sect; but now, if we may believe public fame, they are reconciled with their brethren.^a

vi. The religion of the sect, called *quakers*, has an air of novelty that strikes at first sight; but, when viewed closely, it will appear to be nothing more than a certain modification of that famous *mystic theology*, which arose so early as the second century, was fostered and embellished by the luxuriant fancy of Origen, and, passing through various hands, assumed different aspects until it was adopted by the *quakers*, who set off the motley form with new additions of their own invention. Fox indeed is not chargeable with these inventions; his ignorant and inelegant simplicity places him beyond the reach of suspicion in this matter; but it is, at the same time, undoubtedly certain, that all his doctrine concerning the *internal word*, and the divine light within, its operations and effects, was either borrowed from the writings of the mystics, which were, at that time, in the

The religion of the quakers considered in a general point of view.

^y Bishop Burnet, who was certainly better acquainted with the history of Keith, with whom he had been educated, than Dr. Mosheim, attributes his return to the church of England to a much worthier motive than irritation and resentment. He tells us, that Keith, after that the American quakers had appeared to him as little better than deists, opposed them so warmly, that they sent him back to England. Here he opened a new meeting, and by a printed summons called together the whole party to convince them of these errors. "He continued these meetings," says the bishop, "being still, in outward appearance, a quaker, for some years; till, having prevailed as far as he saw any appearance of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the church." See Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 249.

^z See Burnet, *ibid.* Sewel's account of the troubles occasioned by Keith, in his *History of the Quakers*. But Sewel was either unacquainted with the true nature and state of this controversy, which, as he was an illiterate man, may well have been the case, or he has given designedly a false and ambiguous representation of the matter. See the life of Custer, in the *Europa Erudita* of Rahlfeus,* where this controversy is placed in its true light. Custer was a man of probity, who lived at that time in America, and was an eye witness of these divisions.

^a See Rogers's *Christian Quaker*, published in 4to. at London, in the year 1699; as also, *The Quakers, a Divided People*, published in 1708. *Unschuldig. Nachricht.* 1744, p. 496.

hands of many, or at least picked up from the conversation and expressions of some persons of the mystic order. The tenets however which this blunt and illiterate man expressed in a rude, confused, and ambiguous manner, were dressed up and presented under a different form by the masterly hands of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, who digested them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system. The *quakers* may therefore be deemed with reason the principal branch of the *mystics*, as they not only embraced the precepts of their *hidden wisdom*, but even saw its whole tendency, and adopted without hesitation all its consequences.^b

^b Most people are of opinion, that we are to learn the true doctrine and sentiments of the quakers from the *Catechism* of Robert Barclay, and more especially from his *Apology for the true Christian Divinity*, &c. which was published at London in 4to. in the year 1676, and was translated into several foreign languages. Nor do I deny, that the members of this sect are very desirous that we should judge of their religious sentiments by the doctrine that is exhibited in these books. But if those who are disposed to judge by this rule go so far as to maintain, that these books contain all the religious tenets that have formerly been advanced, or are at present adopted by the people called *quakers*, they may be refuted, without difficulty, from a great variety of books and records, of unquestionable authenticity. It is necessary to enter into the true spirit of Barclay's writings. This ingenious man appeared as a *patron* and *defender* of quakerism, and not as a professed teacher or expositor of its various doctrines: and he interpreted and modified the opinions of this sect after the manner of a champion or advocate, who undertakes the defence of an odious cause. How then does he go to work? In the first place, he observes an entire silence in relation to those fundamental principles of Christianity, concerning which it is of great consequence to know the real opinions of the quakers; and thus he exhibits a system of theology that is evidently lame and imperfect. For it is the peculiar business of a prudent apologist to pass over in silence points that are scarcely susceptible of a plausible defence, and to enlarge upon those only which the powers of genius and eloquence may be able to embellish and exhibit in an advantageous point of view. It is observable, in the second place, that Barclay touches in a slight, superficial, and hasty manner, some tenets, which, when amply explained, had exposed the quakers to severe censures; and in this he discovers plainly the weakness of his cause. Lastly, to omit many other observations that might be made here, this writer employs the greatest dexterity and art in softening and modifying those invidious doctrines which he cannot conceal, and dare not disavow; for which purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases and terms that are in use of by the *quakers*, and are peculiar to their sect, and expresses their tenets in ordinary language, in terms of a vague and indefinite nature, and in a style that casts a sort of mask over their natural aspect. At this rate the most enormous errors may be held with impunity; for there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which a plausible air may not be given by following the insidious method of Barclay; and it is well known, that even the doctrine of Spinoza was, with a like artifice, dressed out and disguised by some of his disciples. The other writers of this sect have declared their sentiments with more freedom, perspicuity, and candour, particularly the famous William Penn and George Whitehead, whose writings deserve an attentive perusal preferably to all the other productions of that community. There is, among other writings of these eminent quakers, one in whose composition they were both concerned, and which was published at London in the year 1674, under the following title: 'The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony vindicated by Scripture, Reason, and Authorities, against the injurious Attempts that have been lately made by several Adversaries.' The *first part* of this book was written by Penn; and the *second* by Whitehead. There is also in Sewel's History, a *confession of faith*, that was published by the quakers in the year 1693, during their controversy with Keith; but this confession is composed with great prudence, and is full of ambiguity.

vii. The fundamental doctrine of *quakerism*, from whence all their other tenets are derived, is that famous and ancient opinion of the mystic school, ^{The principal tenet of the quakers.} "That there lies concealed in the minds of all men a certain portion of divine reason, a spark of the same wisdom that exists in the Supreme Being." Therefore, those who are desirous of arriving at true felicity and eternal salvation; must, according to their system, by self converse, contemplation, and perpetual efforts to subdue their sensual affections, endeavour to draw forth, kindle, and inflame that *divine, hidden spark*, which is overpowered by the *darkness of the flesh*, and suffocated, as it were, by that mass of matter with which it is surrounded. They who observe this rule, will feel, say the quakers, a divine glow of warmth and light, and hear a celestial and divine voice proceeding from the inward recesses of their souls; and by this light, and this voice, they will be led to all truth, and be perfectly assured of their union with the Supreme Being. This hidden treasure, which is possessed, though not improved, by all the human race, bears different denominations in the language of this fanatical sect. They frequently call it "divine light," sometimes a "ray of the eternal wisdom," at others, the "heavenly Sophia," whom they suppose married to a mortal, and whose wedding garments some of their writers describe with the most gaudy and pompous eloquence. But the most usual epithets given to this spiritual treasure are those of the *internal word*, and of Christ *within*; for as, on the one hand, they adopt that doctrine of Origin, and the ancient mystics, which represents Christ as the eternal reason, or wisdom of God; and, on the other, maintain, that all men are endowed naturally with a certain portion of the divine wisdom; they are thus directly led to affirm, that Christ, or the *word* of God, dwells and speaks in the hearts of all men.^c

viii. All the singularities and wonderful fancies, that are to be found in the religious system of the quakers, are the immediate consequences of the fundamental principle now mentioned. For since Christ resides in the inward frame of every mor-

The tenets that flow from this fundamental doctrine.

^c It is nevertheless to be observed, that the modern quakers, as appears from the writings of Martyn and others, are, generally speaking, ignorant of the system of their ancestors, and perpetually confound the innate divine light abovementioned, with the operations of the Holy Ghost in the minds of the faithful.

tal ; it follows, “ *First*, that the whole of religion consists in calling off the mind from external objects, in weakening the influence and ascendant of the outward senses, and in every one’s entering deeply into the inmost recesses of his heart, and listening attentively to the divine instructions and commands that the *internal word*, or Christ *within*, delivers there ; *secondly*, that the *external word*, i. e. the holy scripture, neither points out the way of salvation, nor leads men to it ; since it only consists of *letters* and *words*, which, being *void of life*, have not a degree of efficacy and power sufficient to *illuminate* the human mind, and to unite it to God. The only advantage that, in their opinion, results from a perusal of the holy scriptures, is, that they excite the mind to listen to the dictates of the *internal word*, and to go to the school of Christ, who teaches *within them* ; or, to express the same thing in other words, they look upon the bible as a mute master, who, by signs and figures, points out and discovers that *living master* and effectual guide who dwells in the mind. *Thirdly*, that they who are without this written word, such as the Jews, mahometans, and savage nations. are not, on that account. either removed from the path, or destitute of the doctrine of salvation, though they indeed want this inferior and subordinate help to its attainment. For if they only attend to this *inward teacher*, who always *speaketh* when the *man* is *silent*, they will learn abundantly, from him, all that is necessary to be known and practised in order to their final happiness ; that of consequence, *fourthly*, the kingdom of Christ is of a vast extent, and comprehends the whole race of mankind. For all have Christ within them, and therefore, even those who are deprived of the means of knowledge, and live in the grossest ignorance of the christian religion, are capable of obtaining, through him, wisdom here, and happiness hereafter. Hence also they conclude, that those who lead virtuous lives, and resist the impulse of their lusts and passions, whether they be Jews, mahometans, or polytheists, shall be united to God in this life, by means of the Christ that lies hidden within them, and shall enjoy the fruits of this union in the life to come. To these tenets they add, in the *fifth* place, that a heavy, dark body, composed of corrupt matter, hinders men from discerning, with ease, this *hidden* Christ, and from hearing his divine and internal voice. Therefore they look upon

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it as a matter of the highest importance, to watch against the pernicious consequences of this union between the soul and body, that the latter may not blunt the powers of the former, disturb its tranquillity, or, by the ministry of the outward senses, fill it with the images of vain, sensible, and external objects." The consideration now mentioned engages them, *lastly*, "To look upon it as utterly incredible, that God should ever again shut up, in the same material habitation, the souls that are set free by death from their bodily prison; and therefore they affirm that the gospel account of the resurrection of the body must either be interpreted in a figurative sense, or be understood as pointing out the creation of a new and celestial body."^d

ix. It appears evidently from all this, that the existence of the man Christ Jesus, together with the circumstantial accounts we have in scripture of his divine origin, his life, and actions, his satisfaction, merits, and sufferings, make no essential part of the theological system of the quakers, which is built upon a different foundation. and derives the whole plan and method of salvation from the Christ *within*. Hence several members of that sect, as we learn from writers of unquestionable authority, went such an extravagant length as to maintain, that the accounts we have of Jesus Christ, in the gospel history, do not relate to the Son of God, who took upon him the nature of man, but to that Christ *within*, whose operations are recorded by the sacred historians in a figurative and allegorical language. This opinion, if we may confide in the testimonies of unexceptionable witnesses, is so far from having lost its credit among them, that it is still openly professed by the American quakers. Those of Europe, whether from the force of conviction or the suggestions of prudence, differ entirely from their brethren in this respect; they hold, "That the divine *wisdom* or *reason* resided in the *Son* of the Virgin Mary, and conveyed its instructions to mankind by his ministry;" and they profess to believe, "that this divine man *really* did and suffered what is recorded concerning him by the sacred writers."

Their doctrine
concerning
Christ.

^d The quakers adopt all these tenets; they are at least obliged to adopt them, unless they renounce the fundamental principles of their system. We have omitted the mention of those points about which they dispute among themselves, that we may not appear to take pleasure in representing them under odious colours.

It is nevertheless certain, that they express themselves in a very ambiguous manner on many points that relate to the history of the divine Saviour; and, in a more particular manner, their notions concerning the fruits of his sufferings, and the efficacy of his death, are so vague and obscure that it is very difficult to know what is their real opinion about the degree of this efficacy, and the nature of these fruits. It is still further worthy of observation, that the European quakers, though they acknowledge the *reality* of the life, actions, and sufferings of Christ, yet do not entirely reject the allegorical interpretation of our Saviour's history mentioned above: for they consider the events that happened to Christ, in the course of his ministry here upon earth, as the signs and emblems of those scenes through which the *mental* Christ must pass, in order to render us partakers of eternal salvation. Hence they talk in high swoln and pompous strains, like their models the mystics, of the birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ *in the hearts of the faithful*.

x. The religious discipline, worship, and practice of the quakers flow from the same original source, from which, as we have already observed, their doctrine and tenets were immediately derived. They meet for the purposes of religion on the same days which are set apart for the celebration of public worship in all other christian churches; but they neither observe festivals, nor use external rites and ceremonies, nor suffer religion, which they place entirely in the mental worship of the *hidden* Christ, to be shackled and cramped by positive institutions. All the members of their community, whether male or female, have an equal right to teach and exhort in their public meetings; for who, say they, will presume to exclude from the liberty of speaking to the *brethren*, those persons in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks? They reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other christian churches is distinguished; and this indeed is an instance of their consistency with themselves, as it is the immediate consequence of their religious system; for, in their judgment, it is not the person who expresses his desires in a set form of words, that can be said to pray truly, but he, on the contrary, who, by a deep recollection, withdraws his mind from every

Their religious discipline and worship.

outward object, reduces it to a state of absolute tranquillity, silences every inward motion and affection, and plunges it, as it were, into the abyss of Deity. They neither observe the institution of *baptism*, nor do they renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits that result from it, by the celebration of the *eucharist*. They look upon these two institutions as merely Judaical, and allege, that our Saviour observed them for no other end than to show for once, in a visible manner, the mystical purification of the soul, under the figure of baptism. and the spiritual nourishment of the inward man, under that of the *eucharist*.

xi. The moral doctrine of the quakers, which is remarkable for its excessive austerity, is chiefly comprehended in the two following precepts; *first*, "That the faithful are either to avoid entirely every thing that tends to gratify the external senses and passions, every thing that can be ranked under the denomination of sensual or bodily pleasure; or, if such rigorous abstinence be impossible in this present state, and contrary to the evident laws of nature, such pleasure is to be so modified and restrained by reason and meditation, as to prevent its debasing and corrupting the mind. For as the whole attention of the mind must be given to the voice and orders of the *internal guide*, so, for this purpose, all possible care must be taken to remove it from the contagion of the body, and from all intimate and habitual commerce with corporeal objects." By the *second* leading precept of morality among the quakers, all imitation of those external manners, that go by the name of civility and politeness, as also several matters of form, usual in the conduct of life, and in the connexions of human society, are strictly prohibited as unlawful. Hence they are easily distinguished from all other christian sects, by their outward deportment and their manner of life. They never salute any person they meet in their way, nor employ in their conversation the usual manner of address, and the appellations that civility and custom have rendered a matter of decency, at least, if not of duty; they never express their respect for magistrates, or persons in authority, either by bodily gestures, titles of honour, or in general by any of the marks of homage that are paid them by persons of all other denominations. They carry their pa-

Their moral precepts.

cific sentiments to such an extravagant length, as to renounce the right of self defence, and let pass with impunity, and even without resistance, the attacks that are made on their possessions, their reputation, nay, on their lives. They refuse to confirm their testimonies by an oath, to appear in behalf of their property before a civil tribunal, or to accuse those who have injured them. To these negative parts of their external conduct, they add peculiar circumstances of a positive kind, that discover the same austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit; for they distinguish themselves, in a striking manner, from the rest of their fellow citizens, by the gravity of their aspect, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tone of their voice, the stiffness of their conversation, and the frugality of their tables. It is however affirmed by persons of credit, who are eye witnesses of what passes among the members of this sect, that the modern, and more especially the *English quakers*, whom trade has furnished with the means of luxury, have departed from this rigid and austere manner of life, and daily grow more reconciled to the outward pleasures and enjoyments of the world. These more sociable quakers are also said to modify and explain the theology of their ancestors, in such a manner, as to render it more rational than it was in its primitive state. At the same time it is certain, that many of the members of this sect have either a false notion, or no notion at all, of that ancient theology.

xii. The principles of this community seem to exclude the very idea of order, discipline, and ecclesiastical government. Its leading members however, began to perceive, in process of time, that without laws and rulers it could not subsist, but must inevitably fall into confusion and ruin. They accordingly erected a council of *elders*, who discuss and determine matters of a doubtful or difficult nature, and use all possible care and diligence in inspecting the conduct of the brethren, and in preventing whatever they look upon as prejudicial to the interests of the community. The names of those that enter into the state of wedlock are given in to those leading members, who also keep an exact register of the births and deaths that happen in their society. They exercise, moreover, a certain degree of authority over those who speak in their meetings; since it is well known, that in

Their form of
ecclesiastical
government.

some places these speakers show their discourses to the ruling elders before they deliver them, in order that they may judge whether or no they are fit to be repeated in public. For since the abuse that was made of the unbounded liberty that every individual had to instruct and exhort the congregation, and to speak and harangue when the pretended *spirit moved them*, new regulations have been observed; and this liberty has been considerably modified, in several places, to avoid the mockery, contempt, and censure, to which the community was constantly exposed, by the absurd, incoherent, and insipid discourses of many of its members. There are also in some of the more considerable congregations, and more especially in those that are erected at London, certain persons, whose vocation it is to be always prepared to speak to the people, in case none of the congregation find themselves *inwardly moved*, or disposed to perform that office. The appointment of these professed speakers was designed to remedy an inconveniency that frequently happened in the quaker meetings, even that the whole assembly was dismissed without either instruction or exhortation, because none found themselves *moved* to speak. It is indeed to be observed, that this public discourse is not looked upon by the quakers as an essential part of their religion and worship; for the *brethren* and *sisters* do not meet that they may hear the words of an external teacher, but that they may listen with recollection to the voice of the *divine instructor*, which every one carries with him in his own breast, or, to use their own phrase, that they may *commune with themselves*. Nevertheless, as these mute assemblies excite the laughter of their adversaries, and expose them to the reproach of enthusiasm and phrensy, they have, on that account, appointed fixed speakers, to whom they give a small salary, that the whole time of their meeting may not be passed in silence.^d

The quakers have, annually, a general assembly of the whole sect, which meets at London, the week before Whitsunday, and is composed of deputies from all their particular congregations. They still complain, notwithstanding the toleration they enjoy, of certain severities and hard-

¶^d The truth of this account of *fixed speakers*, appointed to discourse and exhort, when the spirit does not move any of the other brethren, and *rewarded* for their pains, is denied by the writer of the *Letter to Dr. Formey*; we leave the decision of the matter to those who have an opportunity of examining the fact.

ships; but these are entirely owing to their obstinate refusal to pay those tithes, which, by the laws of the land, are designed for the support of the established church.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE MENNONITES, OR ANABAPTISTS.

I. AFTER various scenes of trial and perplexity, the mennonites at length found, during this century, the tranquillity they had long sought after in vain. The various fortunes of the mennonites. They arrived indeed at this state of repose by very slow steps; for though, in the preceding age, they were admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in the United Provinces, yet it was a long time before their solicitations and pleas of innocence could engage the English, the Swiss, and Germans, to receive them in their bosom, and to abrogate the laws that had been enacted against them. The civil magistrates, in these countries, had still before their eyes the enormities committed by the ancient anabaptists; and beside, they could not persuade themselves, that a set of men, who looked upon all oaths as *sinful*, and declared that magistracy and penal laws have no place in the kingdom of Christ, had the qualities and sentiments that are necessary to constitute a good citizen. Hence we find, even in this century, several examples of great severities employed against the anabaptists, and some instances of even capital punishments being inflicted on them.* But now, that the demonstrations of their innocence and probity are clear and unquestionable, they enjoy the sweets of security and repose, not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, Germany, and Prussia, where they procure, by their honest industry, and particularly by their

*The severities exercised in Switzerland against the *mennonites* are recorded by Ottius, in his *Annal. Anabapt.* p. 337, and more particularly those that they suffered in the year 1693, by Hottinger, in his German work, entitled, *Schweizerische Kirchen Historie*, vol. i. p. 1101, nor, even in this present century, have they been treated more mildly in the canton of Berne, as appears from Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. x. p. 289, in which we find the letters of the states general of the United Provinces interceding with that canton in their behalf. A severe persecution was set on foot against them in the Palatinate in the year 1694, which was suspended by the intercession of William III. king of Great Britain. See Schyn, *ibid.* p. 265. Bishop Burnet mentions some instances of anabaptists suffering death in England during the seventeenth century, in the first volume of his *History of his own Times*

application to trade and commerce, an ample subsistence for themselves and their families.

II. The wiser members of this community easily perceived, that their external tranquillity would neither be stable nor permanent, unless their intestine discords were removed, and their ancient disputes, about trifling and unimportant matters, charitably terminated. They accordingly used their most zealous endeavours to diffuse the sweets of charity and concord throughout their sect; nor were their labours altogether unsuccessful. In the year 1630, a considerable part of the anabaptists of Flanders, Germany, and Friesland, concluded their debates, in a conference held at Amsterdam, and entered into the bonds of fraternal communion, each, notwithstanding, reserving to themselves a liberty of retaining certain opinions. This association was renewed, and confirmed by new resolutions, in the year 1649, by the anabaptists of Flanders and Germany, between whom great divisions had reigned.^f All these formed a bond of union with those branches of the sect that were most distinguished by their moderation; and they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous laws of Menno and his successors.

Union and
concord res-
tored among
them.

III. Therefore, at this day, the whole community may be divided into two large sects, the one comprehending the more *refined* anabaptists, remarkable for their austerity, who are also called *Flemings* or *Flandrians*; and the others called, in the Dutch language, the *grosser* anabaptists, who are of a milder complexion, and an easier and more moderate character, and go commonly under the denomination of *Waterlandians*. We have given already a particular account of the origin and etymology of these denominations. Each of these sects is subdivided into a variety of branches, more especially the *refined* and austere anabaptists, who have not only produced two separate societies, distinguished by the names of *Groningenists*,^g and *Dantzigers* or *Prussians*,^h but also a considerable number of more obscure and inconsiderable factions, which differ in doctrine, discipline, and manners; and agree in nothing

Different sects
of anabaptists.

^f Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Historie Mennonit.* p. 41, 42.

^g So called, because they met at certain stated times in the city of Groningen.

^h They derive this denomination from their adopting the manners and discipline of the Prussians.

but the name of anabaptists, and in some ancient opinions that have been unanimously embraced by all the members of that sect. All the refined *anabaptists* are the rigid followers of Simon Menno, and steadfastly maintain, though not all with the same degree of severity and rigour, the sentiments of their chief on the following points ; the human nature of Christ ; the obligation that binds us to wash the feet of strangers in consequence of our Saviour's command ; the necessity of excommunicating and of avoiding, as one would do the plague, not only avowed sinners, but also those who depart, even in some light instances, from the simplicity of their ancestors, and are tainted with any appearance of evil ; the contempt that is due to human learning, and other matters of less moment.ⁱ It is however to be observed, that in our times, some of the congregations of this *refined* sect have been gradually departing from this austere system, and are proceeding, though with a slow pace, toward the opinions and discipline of the more moderate anabaptists.

iv. All these anabaptists adopt a form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, that is administered by three distinct orders of persons. The first order is that of the *bishops* or *presbyters*, who always preside in the consistory, and are alone invested with the power of administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The second is that of the *teachers*, who are set apart for the purposes of public instruction, and the celebration of divine worship. The third comprehends the *deacons*, who are chosen out of both sexes. These three orders compose the consistory, or council, by which the church is governed. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the brethren. The ministers are elected to their holy office by *their* suffrages, and are all, the *deacons* excepted, installed by public prayers, attended with imposition of hands.

v. Among the inferior sects of the rigid anabaptists, the most considerable is that which passes under the denomination of *uckewallists*, and is so called after its founder Uke Walles, a native of Friesland. This rustic, rigid, and ignorant sectary, not only exhorted his

The external form of the mennonite church.

The uckewallists.

ⁱ See a German work, entitled, *Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Menoniten*, by Rues, 1743.

followers to maintain the primitive and austere doctrine of Menno, without suffering it to be softened or altered in the smallest degree, but also took it into his head to propagate, jointly with another innovator, named John Leus, in the year 1637, a singular opinion concerning the salvation of Judas, and the rest of Christ's murderers. To give an air of plausibility to the favourable opinion he entertained concerning the eternal state of this archapostate, he invented the following odd hypothesis, "That the period of time that extended from the birth of Christ to the descent of the Holy Ghost, and was, as it were, the distinctive term that separated the Jewish from the christian dispensation, was a time of deep ignorance and darkness, during which the Jews were void of light, and entirely destitute of divine succour; and that, of consequence, the sins and enormities that were committed during this interval were in a great measure excusable, and could not merit the severest displays of the divine justice." This idle fiction met with no indulgence, either from the mennonites on the one hand, or from the magistrates of Groningen on the other; for the former excluded its inventor from their communion, and the latter banished him from their city. He fixed his residence in the adjacent province of East Friesland, and there drew after him a considerable number of disciples, whose descendants still subsist in the neighbourhood of Groningen, Friesland, and also in Lithuania and Prussia, and have their own religious assemblies, separate from those of the other mennonites. As they have little intercourse with any but those of their own communion, it is not an easy matter to know, with certainty, whether they persevere in the singular opinion that proved so detrimental to the interest of their leader. It is at least certain, that they follow scrupulously the steps of their original founder Menno, and exhibit a lively image of the primitive manners and constitution of the mennonites. They rebaptize all those who leave other christian churches to embrace their communion. Their apparel is mean beyond expression, and they avoid every thing that has the most distant appearance of elegance or ornament. They let their beards grow to an enormous length; their hair, uncombed, lies in a disorderly manner on their shoulders; their countenances are marked with the strongest lines of

dejection and melancholy ; and their habitations and household furniture are such as are only fitted to answer the demands of mere necessity. Such, moreover, is the severity of their discipline, that any member of their community, who departs in the smallest instance from this austere rule, is immediately excluded from the society, and avoided by all the brethren as a public pest. Their inspectors or bishops, whom they distinguish from the ministers, whose office is to preach and instruct, are chosen by an assembly composed of all the congregations of the sect.—The ceremony of washing the feet of strangers, who come within the reach of their hospitality, is looked upon by them as a rite of divine institution. We shall not enlarge upon the other circumstances of their ritual, but only observe, that they prevent all attempts to alter or modify their religious discipline, by preserving their people from every thing that bears the remotest aspect of learning and science ; from whatever, in a word, might have a tendency to enlighten their devout ignorance.

vi. The more moderate, who are called the *grosser*, or less scrupulous anabaptists, are composed of certain inhabitants of Waterland, Flanders, Friesland, and Germany, who entered into an association, as has been already observed, and commonly pass under the denomination of *Waterlandians*. This community have abandoned the severe discipline and singular opinions of Menno, whom nevertheless they generally respect as their primitive parent and founder, and have advanced a step nearer than the other anabaptists to the religious doctrines and customs of other christian churches. They are however divided into two distinct sects, which bear the respective denominations of *Frieslanders* and *Waterlandians*, and are both without bishops, employing no other ecclesiastical ministers than *presbyters* and *deacons*. Each congregation of this sect is independent on all foreign jurisdiction, having its own ecclesiastical council or consistory, which is composed of *presbyters* and *deacons*. The supreme spiritual power is nevertheless in the hands of the people, without whose consent nothing of importance can be carried into execution. Their *presbyters* are, generally speaking, men of learning, and apply themselves with success to the study of physic and philosophy. And there is

The Water-
landians.

a public professor supported, at present, by the sect at Amsterdam, for the instruction of their youth in the various branches of philosophy and sacred erudition.

vii. One of these Waterlandian sects was divided, in the year 1664, into two factions, of which the one were called *galenists*, and the other *apostoolians*, The galenists and apostoolians. from their respective leaders. The founder of the former was Galen Abraham Haan, a doctor of physic, and pastor of a mennonite congregation at Amsterdam, who has received the applause even of his enemies, on account of his uncommon penetration and eloquence. This eminent anabaptist, in imitation of the arminians, considered the christian religion as a system that laid much less stress upon faith than upon practice; and he was for receiving into the communion of the mennonites all those who acknowledged the divine origin of the books of the Old and New Testament, and led holy and virtuous lives. Such, in his judgment, were true christians, and had an undoubted right to all the rights and privileges that belong to that character. These comprehensive terms of communion were peculiarly favourable to his own theological sentiments, since his notions concerning Christ's divinity, and the salvation of mankind by his death and merits, were very different from those of the mennonites, and coincided a good deal with the socinian system.

Several persons opposed the sentiments of this latitudinarian, and more especially Samuel Apostool, an eminent pastor among the mennonites at Amsterdam, who not only defended, with the utmost zeal, the doctrine generally received among the mennonites, in relation to the divinity of Christ and the fruits of his death, but also maintained that ancient hypothesis of a visible and glorious church of Christ upon earth, that was peculiar to this sect.^k Thus a controversy was kindled, which produced the division now mentioned; a division which the zealous efforts of several of the wisest and most respectable members of this community have hitherto proved insufficient to heal. The *galenists* are not less disposed than the arminians to admit, as members of their community, all those who call

^k For a more particular account of these two mennonites, see Schyn's *Deductie plakkint* *Histor. Mennonit.* cap. xv. p. 318, and xviii. p. 237.

themselves christians; and they are the only sect of the anabaptists who reject the denomination of mennonites. The *apostoolians*, on the contrary, admit to their communion those only who profess to believe all the points of doctrine which are contained in their public confession of faith.¹

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE SOCINIANS AND ARIANS.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century, the sect of the socinians seemed to be well established, and their affairs were even in a flourishing situation. In Transylvania and Lucko they enjoyed the liberty of holding, without molestation, their religious assemblies, and professing publicly their theological opinions. The advantages that attended their situation in Poland were still more considerable; for they had at Racow a public seminary of learning, which was furnished with professors eminently distinguished by their erudition and genius, together with a press for the publication of their writings; they had also a considerable number of congregations in that district, and were supported by the patronage of several persons of the highest distinction. Elated with this scene of prosperity, they began to form more extensive views, and aimed at enlarging the borders of their community, and procuring it patrons and protectors in other countries. There are in being authentic records, from which it appears, that they sent emissaries with this view, about the commencement of this century, into Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, who endeavoured to make proselytes to socinianism in these countries, among men of learning and men in power. For it is remarkable that the socinians, in propagating their religious principles, have always followed a quite different method from that which has been observed by other sects. It has been the general practice of sectaries and innovators to

¹ Casp. Commelini *Descriptio Urbis Amstelodami*, tom. i. p. 500. Stoupa's *Religion des Hollandois*, p. 20. Bentheim's *Holländischer Schulund Kirchen Staat*, p. i. ch. xix. p. 330.

endeavour to render themselves popular, and to begin by gaining the multitude to their side; but the disciples of Socinus, who are perpetually exalting the dignity, prerogatives, and authority of reason, have this peculiarity in their manner of proceeding, that they are at very little pains to court the favour of the people, or to make proselytes to their cause among those who are not distinguished from the multitude by their rank or their abilities. It is only among the learned and the great that they seek for disciples and patrons with a zealous assiduity.

11. The effect of the missions now mentioned, though they were conducted and executed by persons of whom the greatest part were eminent, both on account of their rank and abilities, was nevertheless far from answering the views and expectations of the community. In most places their success was doubtful, at best but inconsiderable; in some however they were favourably received, and seemed to employ their labours to purpose. They had no where a more flattering prospect of success than in the academy of Altorf, where their sentiments and their cause were promoted with dexterity by Ernest Sohner, an acute and learned peripatetician, who was professor of physic and natural philosophy. This subtle philosopher, who had joined the socinians during his residence in Holland, instilled their principles into the minds of his scholars with much greater facility, by his having acquired the highest reputation both for learning and piety. The death indeed of this eminent man, which happened in the year 1612, deprived the rising society of its chief ornament and support; nor could the remaining friends of socinianism carry on the cause of their community with such art and dexterity, as to escape the vigilant and severe eye of the other professors. Their secret designs were accordingly brought to light, in the year 1616; and the contagion of socinianism, which was gathering strength from day to day, and growing imperceptibly into a reigning system, was all of a sudden dissipated and extinguished by the vigilant severity of the magistrates of Nuremberg. The foreign students, who had been infected with these doctrines, saved themselves by flight; while the natives, who were chargeable with the same reproach, accepted of the remedies that were presented to them by the

The progress
and decline of
socinianism at
Altorf.

healing hand of orthodoxy, and returned quietly to their former theological system.^m

III. The establishment of the socinians in Poland, though it seemed to rest upon solid foundations, was nevertheless of a short duration.ⁿ Its chief supports were withdrawn in the year 1638, by a public decree of the diet. It happened in this year that some of the students of Racow vented, in an irregular and tumultuous manner, their religious resentment against a crucifix, at which they threw stones, till they beat it down out of its place. This act of violence excited such a high degree of indignation in the Roman catholics, that they vowed revenge, and fulfilled this vow in the severest manner; for it was through their importunate solicitations that the terrible law was enacted at Warsaw, by which it was resolved, that the academy of Racow should be demolished, its professors banished with ignominy, the printing house of the socinians destroyed, and their churches shut. All this was executed without the smallest alleviation or the least delay, notwithstanding the efforts made by the powerful patrons of the socinians to ward off the blow.^o But a catastrophe, still more terrible, awaited them; and the persecution now mentioned was the forerunner of that dreadful revolution, which, about twenty years afterward, brought on the entire ruin of this community in Poland; for by a public and solemn act of the diet held at Warsaw, in the year 1658, all the socinians were banished for ever from the territory of that republic, and capital punishment was denounced against all those who should either profess their opinions, or harbour their persons. The unhappy exiles were, at first, allowed the space of three years to settle their affairs, and to dispose of their possessions; but this term was afterward abridged by the cruelty of their enemies, and reduced to two years. In the year 1661, the terrible edict was renewed; and all the socinians that

^m The learned Gustavus George Zeltner, formerly professor of divinity in the academy of Altorf, composed an ample and learned account of this theological revolution, drawn principally from manuscript records, which was published at Leipsic, in the year 1729, in two volumes, in 4to. by Gebauer, under the following title; *Historia Crypto Socinianismi, Altorfinae quondam Academicæ infestæ, arcana.*

ⁿ We have a circumstantial account of the flourishing state of the Racovian academy, while it was under the direction of the learned Martin Ruarus, in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. i. p. 572, where we learn that Ruarus was a native of Holstein, who became a proselyte to the socinian system.

^o *Epistola de Wissowatii rita in Sandii Biblioth. Antitritinar.* p. 233. Gust. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto Socinianismi, Altorfina*, vol. i. p. 299.

yet remained in Poland were barbarously driven out of that country, some with the loss of their goods, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness, nor any domestic consideration, could suspend the execution of that rigorous sentence.^p

iv. A part of these exiles, who sought for a refuge among their brethren in Transylvania, sunk under the burden of their calamities, and perished amidst the hardships to which they were exposed. A The fate of the socinian exiles. considerable number of these unhappy emigrants were dispersed through the adjacent provinces of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; and their posterity still subsists in those countries. Several of the more eminent members of the sect, in consequence of the protection granted them by the duke of Breig, resided for some time at Crossen, in Silesia.^q Others went in search of a convenient settlement for themselves and their brethren, into Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark. Of all the socinian exiles, none discovered such zeal and industry for the interests and establishment of the sect as Stanislaus Lubieniecius, a Polish knight, distinguished by his learning, and singularly esteemed by persons of the highest rank, and even by several sovereign princes, on account of his eloquence, politeness, and prudence. This illustrious patron of socinianism succeeded so far in his designs, as to gain the favour of Frederic III. king of Denmark; Christian Albert, duke of Holstein; and Charles Lewis, elector palatine; and thus had almost obtained a secure retreat and settlement for the socinians, about the year 1662, at Altena, Frederickstadt, and Mannheim; but his measures were disconcerted, and all his hopes entirely frustrated by the opposition and remonstrances of the clergy established in these countries; he was opposed in Denmark by Svaningius, bishop of Zealand, in Holstein by Reinboth, and in the palatinate by John Lewis Fabricius.^r Several other attempts were made, in different countries, in favour of

^p Stanislaus Lubieniecius *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. iii. c. xvii. xviii. p. 279. *Equitis Poloni Vindiciae pro Unitariorum in Polonia Religionis libertate apud Sandium*, in *Biblioth. Antitrinitar* p. 267.

^q Lubieniecius *Historia Reformat. Polon.* cap. xviii. p. 285, where there is a letter written by the socinians of Crossen.

^r See Sandii, *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar*. p. 165. *Historia Vita Lubieniecii*, prefixed to his *Historia Reformationis Polonica*, p. 7, 8. Mollerii *Introductio in Histor. Chersones. Cimbrica*, p. ii. p. 105, and his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 487. Jo. Henr. Heideggeri *Vita Joh. Lud. Fabricii*, subjoined to the works of the latter, p. 38.

socinianism ; but their success was still less considerable ; nor could any of the European nations be persuaded to grant a public settlement to a sect, whose members denied the divinity of Christ.

v. The remains therefore of this unfortunate community are, at this day, dispersed through different countries, particularly in the kingdoms of England and Prussia, the electorate of Brandenburg, and the United Provinces, where they lie more or less concealed, and hold their religious assemblies in a clandestine manner. They are indeed said to exercise their religion publicly in England,^r not in consequence of a legal toleration, but through the indulgent connivance of the civil magistrate.^s Some of them have embraced the communion of the arminians ; others have joined with that sect of the anabaptists that

☞ ^r The *socinians* in England have never made any figure as a *community*, but have rather been dispersed among that great variety of sects that have arisen in a country where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniences. Beside, few ecclesiastics, or writers of any note, have adopted the theological system now under consideration, in all its branches. The socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had indeed many abettors in England during the XVIIth century ; and it may be presumed, without temerity, that its votaries are rather increased than diminished in the present ; but those divines who have abandoned the *athanasian* hypothesis, concerning the *Trinity of persons in the Godhead*, have more generally gone into the arian and semarian notions of that inexplicable subject, than into those of the socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous John Biddle, after having maintained, both in public and in private, during the reign of Charles, and the protectorship of Cromwell, the *unitarian* system, erected an independent congregation in London, which is the only British church we have heard of, in which all the peculiar doctrines of socinianism were inculcated ; for, if we may give credit to the account of Sir Peter Pett, this congregation held the following notions ; “ That the fathers under the old covenant had only temporal promises ; that saving faith consisted in universal obedience performed to the commands of God and Christ, that Christ arose again only by the power of the Father, and not his own ; that *justifying faith* is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by men’s natural abilities ; that *faith* cannot believe any thing contrary to, or above reason ; that there is no *original sin* ; that Christ hath not the *same* body now in glory, in which he suffered and rose again ; that the saints shall not have the *same* body in heaven which they had on earth ; that Christ was not *Lord* or *King* before his resurrection, or *Priest* before his ascension ; that the saints shall not, before the day of judgment, enjoy the bliss of heaven ; that God doth not certainly know future contingencies ; that there is not any authority of fathers or general councils in determining matters of faith ; that Christ, before his death, had not any dominion over the angels ; and that Christ, by dying, made not satisfaction for us.” See the *preface* to sir Peter Pett’s *Happy Future State of England*, printed at London in 1688.

^s The socinians, who reside at present in the district of Mark, used to meet, some years ago, at stated times, at Koningswald, a village in the neighbourhood of Francfort, on the Oder. See the ‘*Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie et d’Histoire*,’ published at Amsterdam in the year 1731, in 8vo.” p. 44. They published, in the year 1716, at Berlin, their confession of faith, in the German language, which is to be found, with a refutation thereto annexed, in a book, entitled, ‘*Den Theologischen Neb. Opfern*.’ part x. p. 532.

☞ * The author of this collection was one Jordan, who was pastor of a church in the neighbourhood of Berlin.

are distinguished by the name of *galenists*; and in this there is nothing at all surprising, since neither the armini-ans nor anabaptists require from those that enter into their communion an explicit or circumstantial declaration of their religious sentiments. It is also said, that a considerable number of this dispersed community became members of the religious society called *collegiants*.[†] Amidst these perpetual changes and vicissitudes, it was not possible that the socinians could maintain an uniform system of doctrine, or preserve unaltered and entire the religious tenets handed down to them by their ancestors. On the contrary, their peculiar and distinctive opinions are variously explained and understood both by the learned and illiterate members of their community, though they all agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and that also of the *divinity* and *satisfaction* of Jesus Christ.[‡]

vi. After the socinians, as there is a great affinity between the two sects, it is proper to mention the arians, who had several celebrated writers in this ^{Arians.} century, such as Sandius and Biddle.[¶] Of those who also passed under the general denomination of *antitrinitarians* and *unitarians*, there are many that may be placed in the class of the socinians and arians; for the term *unitarian* is very comprehensive, and is applicable to a great variety of persons, who, notwithstanding, agree in this common principle, that *there is no real distinction in the divine nature*. The denomination of arian is also given in general to all who consider Jesus Christ as *inferior* and *subordi-*

† This community, of which there is an account given in the beginning of the following chapter, called their religious meetings *collegies*, a Dutch word, which signifies congregation or assembly, and hence they were denominated *collegiants*.

‡ Many examples might be alleged in proof of this; it will be sufficient to mention that of the learned Crellius, who, though he was professor of theology among the socinians, yet differed in his opinions, about many points of doctrine, from the sentiments of Socinus and the Racovian catechism, and would not be called a socinian, but an *armonite*.^{*} See the *Journal Littéraire*, tom. xvii. p. i. p. 150, and the account I have given of this celebrated man in my *Syntagm. Dissertationum ad sanctioris Disciplinas pertinentium*, p. 352. *Unschuld. Nachricht*, 1750, p. 942. *Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 88. ¶ This last citation is erroneous; there is no account of Crellius in the place here referred to.

¶ For an account of Sandius, father and son, see Arnold and other writers. The life of Biddle is to be found in the *Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. ii. p. 288. ¶ Dr Mosheim places Biddle improperly among the arians; it is manifest that he belongs to the socinians, since, in the third article of his confession of faith, he professeth to believe that *Christ has no other than a human nature*. See the *Socinian Tracts*, entitled, 'The faith of one God,' &c. published at London, in 4to. in 1691. See also above, note rr.

§ * After Artemon, who lived under the reign of the emperor Severus, and denied the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ.

nate to the Father. But as this subordination may be understood and explained in a variety of ways, it is evident that the term *arian*, as it is used in modern language, is susceptible of different significations; and that, of consequence, the persons to whom it is applied cannot be all considered in the same point of light with the ancient arians, nor supposed to agree perfectly with each other in their religious tenets.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING SOME SECTS OF INFERIOR NOTE.

1. It will not be amiss to take notice here of a few sects of inferior consequence and note, which we could not mention with propriety in the history of the larger and more extensive communities that we have been passing in review, and which nevertheless we cannot omit, for several reasons. While the disputes and tumults that the arminian system produced in Holland, in the year 1619, were at the greatest height, then arose that religious society, whose members hold at Rhinsberg, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, a solemn assembly every half year, and are generally known under the denomination of *collegiants*.^x This community was founded by three brothers, whose name was Vander Kodde, who passed their days in the obscurity of a rural life, but are said to have been men of eminent piety, well acquainted with sacred literature, and great enemies to religious controversy. They had for their associate Anthony Cornelius, a man also of a mean condition, and who had no qualities that could give any degree of weight or credit to their cause. The descendants and followers of these men acquired the name of *collegiants* from this particular circumstance, that they call their religious assemblies *colleges*. All are admitted to the communion of this sect who acknowledge the divinity of the holy scriptures, and endeavour to live suitably to their precepts and doctrines, whatever their peculiar sentiments may be concerning the nature of the Deity, and the truths of Christianity. Their numbers are

^x See above, note f.

very considerable in the provinces of Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Westfriesland. They meet twice every week, namely, on Sundays and Wednesdays, for the purposes of divine worship; and after singing a psalm or hymn, and addressing themselves to the Deity by prayer, they explain a certain portion of the New Testament. The female members of the community are not allowed to speak in public; but all others, without any exception founded on rank, condition, or incapacity, have a right to communicate the result of their meditations to the assembly, and to submit their sentiments to the judgment of the brethren. All likewise have an unquestionable right to examine and oppose what any of the brethren has advanced, provided their opposition be attended with a spirit of christian charity and moderation. There is a printed list of the passages of scripture, that are to be examined and illustrated at each of their religious meetings; so that any one who is ambitious of appearing among the *speakers*, may study the subject before hand, and thus come fully prepared to descant upon it in public. The brethren, as has been already observed, have a general assembly twice a year at Rhinsberg, where they have ample and convenient houses for the education of orphans and the reception of strangers; and there they remain together during the space of four days, which are employed in hearing discourses that tend to edification, and exhortations that are principally designed to inculcate brotherly love and sanctity of manners. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is also administered during this assembly; and those adult persons, that desire to be baptized, receive the sacrament of baptism, according to the ancient and primitive manner of celebrating that institution, even by immersion. Those of the brethren that reside in the province of Friesland, have at present an annual meeting at Lewarden, where they administer the sacraments, as the considerable distance at which they live from Rhinsberg renders it inconvenient for them to repair thither twice a year. We shall conclude our account of the *collegiants* by observing, that their community is of a most ample and extensive kind; that it comprehends persons of all ranks, orders, and sects, who profess themselves christians, though their sentiments concerning the person and doctrine of the divine founder of Christianity be extremely different: that

it is kept together, and its union maintained, not by the authority of rulers and doctors, the force of ecclesiastical laws, the restraining power of creeds and confessions, or the influence of certain positive rites and institutions, but merely by a zeal for the advancement of practical religion, and a desire of drawing instruction from the study of the holy scriptures.¹

11. In such a community, or rather amidst such a multitude as this, in which *opinion* is free, and every one is permitted to judge for himself in religious matters, dissensions and controversies can scarcely have place. However, a debate, attended with some warmth, arose, in the year 1672, between John and Paul Bredenburg, merchants of Rotterdam, on the one side, and Abraham Lemmerman and Francis Cuiper, merchants of Amsterdam, on the other. John Bredenburg had erected a particular society, or *college*, in which he gave a course of lectures upon the religion of nature and reason; but this undertaking was highly disapproved of by Lemmerman and Cuiper, who were for excluding reason altogether from religious inquiries and pursuits. During the heat of this controversy, Bredenburg discovered a manifest propensity toward the sentiments of Spinoza; nay, he even defended them publicly, and yet, at the same time, professed a firm attachment to the christian religion.² Other debates of less con-

¹ See the 'Dissertation sur les usages de ceux qu'on appelle en Hollande Colégiens et Rhinobourgeois,' in the 'Cérimonies Religieuses des tous les Peuples du Monde,' tom. iv. p. 323. As also a Dutch book, containing an account of the *colégiants*, and published by themselves, under the following title: 'De Oersprong, Natuur, Handelwyz en Oogmerk der zo genaamde Rynburgscho Vergadering,' at Amsterdam, in 4to in the year 1736.

² The names of John Bredenburg and Francis Cuiper are well known among the followers and adversaries of Spinoza; but the character and profession of these two disputants are less generally known. Bredenburg, or as he is otherwise called, Breitenburg, was a *colégiant*, and a merchant of Rotterdam, who propagated in a public manner the doctrine of Spinoza, and pretended to demonstrate mathematically its conformity to the dictates of reason. The same man not only professed Christianity, but moreover explained, recommended, and maintained, the christian religion in the meetings of the *colégiants*, and asserted, on all occasions, its divine original. To reconcile these striking contradictions, he declared, on the one hand, that *reason* and *Christianity* were in direct opposition to each other; but maintained, on the other, that we were obliged to believe, even against the evidence of the strongest mathematical demonstration, that the religious doctrines comprehended in the holy scriptures: this indeed was adding absurdity to absurdity. He affirmed that *truth* was twofold, *theological* and *philosophical*; and that those propositions, which were false in theology, were true in philosophy. There is a brief, but accurate account, of the character and sentiments of Bredenburg, in the learned work of the Jew, Isaac Orshon, entitled, 'Certamen Philosophicum propugnata veritatis, divinæ et naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia, ex quibus, quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur.' This work, which contains Bredenburg's pretended demonstrations of the philosophy of Spinoza, was first published in Svo. at

sequence arose in this community, and the effect of those dissensions was a division of the *collegiants* into two parties which held their assemblies separately at Rhinsberg. This division happened in the year 1686, but it was healed about the commencement of the present century, by the death of those who had principally occasioned it; and then the *collegiants* returned to their former union and concord.^a

III. The sect of the *labbadists* were so called from their founder John Labbadie, a native of France, a man of no mean genius, and remarkable for a natural and masculine eloquence. This man was born in the Romish communion, entered into the order of the jesuits, and, being dismissed by them,^b became a member of the reformed church, and performed, with reputation, the ministerial functions in France, Switzerland, and Holland. He at length erected a new community, which resided successively at Middleburg in Zealand and at Amsterdam. In the year 1670 it was transplanted to Hervorden, a town in Westphalia, at the particular desire of the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the elector palatine, and abbess of Hervorden.^c It was nevertheless driven from thence, notwith-

The labbadists.

Amsterdam, in the year 1703, and afterward in 12mo. at Brussels, in 1731. Francis Cuiper, who was the antagonist of Bredenburg, acquired a considerable reputation by his *Arcana Atheismi detecta*, i. e. *The Secrets of Atheism detected*. He was a bookseller at Amsterdam; and it was he that published, among other things, the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum*. Those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the literary history of this century, know that Cuiper, on account of the very book which he wrote against Bredenburg, was suspected of Spinozism, though he was a *collegiant*, and a zealous defender of the christian faith, as also of the perfect conformity that there is between right reason and true religion. Dr. Mosheim said a little before, in the text, that Lemmerman and Cuiper were for excluding reason altogether from religion; how then can he consistently say here of the latter, that he was a *defender of the conformity that there is between reason and religion*?

^a Beside the authors who have been already mentioned, those who understand the German language may consult the curious work of Simon Frederic Rues, entitled, *Nachrichten vom Zustande der Mennoniten*, p. 267.

^b From this expression of our author, some may be led to imagine, that Labbadie was expelled by the jesuits from their society; and many have, in effect, entertained this notion. But this is a palpable mistake; and whoever will be at the pains of consulting the letter of the abbe Goujet to father Niceron, published in the *Memoires des Hommes illustres*, tom. xv. p. 142, 143, will find that Labbadie had long solicited his discharge from that society, and, after many refusals, obtained it at length in an honourable manner, by a public act signed at Bourdeaux, by one of the provincials, the 17th of April 1639. For a full account of this restless, turbulent, and visionary man, who, by his plans of reformation, conducted by a zeal destitute of prudence, produced much tumult and disorder, both in the Romish and reformed churches, see his *Life*, composed with learning, impartiality, and judgment, by the Rev. Mr. Chauffepied, in his supplement to Mr. Bayle, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*.

^c This illustrious princess seems to have had as prevailing a taste for fanaticism, as her grandfather king James I. of England had for scholastic theology. She carried

standing the protection of this illustrious princess; and, in the year 1672, settled at Altena, where its founder died two years after his arrival. After the death of Labbadie, his followers removed their wandering community to Wiewert, in the district of North Holland, where it found a peaceful retreat, and soon fell into oblivion; so that few, if any traces of it, are now to be found.

Among the persons that became members of this sect, there were some whose learning and abilities gave it a certain degree of credit and reputation, particularly Anna Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, whose extensive erudition rendered her so famous, in the republic of letters, during the last century. The members of this community, if we are to judge of them by their own account of things, did not differ from the reformed church so much in their tenets and doctrines, as in their manners and rules of discipline;

on a correspondence with Penn, the famous quaker, and other members of that extravagant sect. She is nevertheless celebrated by certain writers, on account of her application to the study of philosophy and poetry. That a poetical fancy may have rendered her susceptible of fanatical impressions, is not impossible; but how these impressions could be reconciled with a philosophical spirit, is more difficult to imagine.

¶ Labbadie always declared, that he embraced the doctrines of the reformed church. Nevertheless, when he was called to perform the ministerial functions to a French church at Middleburg in Zealand, he refused to subscribe their confession of faith. Beside, if we examine his writings, we shall find that he entertained very odd and singular opinions on various subjects. He maintained, among other things, "That God might, and did, on certain occasions, deceive men; that the holy scripture was not sufficient to lead men to salvation, without certain particular *illuminations and revelations* from the Holy Ghost; that in reading the scriptures, we ought to give less attention to the literal sense of the words than to the inward suggestions of the spirit, and that the efficacy of the word depended upon him that preached it; that the faithful ought to have all things in common; that there is no subordination or distinction of rank in the true church of Christ; that Christ was to reign a thousand years upon earth; that the *contemplative life* is a state of grace and union with God, and the very height of perfection; that the christian, whose mind is contented and calm, sees all things in God, enjoys the Deity, and is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes in the world; and that the christian arrives at that happy state by the exercise of a perfect self denial, by mortifying the flesh and all sensual affections, and by mental prayer." Beside these, he had formed singular ideas of the Old and New Testament, considered as covenants, as also concerning the sabbath and the true nature of a christian church.

It is remarkable enough, that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn, were desirous of entering into communion with Labbadie. The brownists offered him their church at Middleburg, when he was suspended by the French synod from his pastoral functions. The quakers sent their two leading members, Robert Barclay and George Keith to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine; and, after several conferences with him, these two commissioners offered to receive him into their communion, which he refused, probably from a principle of ambition, and the desire of remaining head of a sect. Nay, it is said, that the famous William Penn made a second attempt to gain over the labbadists; and that he went for that purpose to Wiewert, where they resided after the death of their founder, but without success. We do not pretend to answer for the certainty of these facts; but shall only observe, that they are related by Mollerus in his *Cimbria Literata* on the authority of a MS. Journal, of which several extracts have been given by Joach. Fred. Feller, in his *Trimest. ix. Monumentorum ineditorum*, sect. iii. A. 1717, p. 498—500.

for their founder exhibited, in his own conduct, a most austere model of sanctity and obedience, which his disciples and followers were obliged to imitate; and they were taught to look for the *communion of saints*, not only in the invisible church, but also in the *visible* one, which, according to their views of things, ought to be composed of none but such persons as were distinguished by their sanctity and virtue, and by a pious progress toward perfection. There are still extant several treatises composed by Labbadie, which sufficiently discover the temper and spirit of the man, and carry the evident marks of a lively and glowing imagination, that was not tempered by the influence of a sober and accurate judgment. And as persons of this character are sometimes carried, by the impetuosity of passion and the seduction of fancy, both into erroneous notions and licentious pursuits, we are not perhaps to reject, in consequence of an excessive charity, the testimonies of those who have found many things worthy of censure, both in the life and doctrine of this turbulent enthusiast.*

iv. Among the fanatical contemporaries of Labbadie, was the famous Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, Bourignon and Poirel. a native of Flanders, who pretended to be divinely inspired, and set apart, by a particular interposition of Heaven, to revive the true spirit of Christianity, that had been extinguished by theological animosities and debates. This female enthusiast, whose religious feelings were accompanied with an unparalleled vivacity and ardour, and whose fancy was exuberant beyond all expression, joined to these qualities a volubility of tongue, less wonderful indeed, yet much adapted to seduce the unwary. Furnished with these useful talents, she began to propagate her theological system, and her enthusiastical notions made a great noise in Flanders, Holland, and some parts of Germany, where she had resided some years. Nor was it only the ignorant multitude that swallowed down with facility her visionary doctrines; since it is well known that several learned and ingenious men were persuaded of their truth, and caught the contagion of her fanaticism. After experiencing various

* See Mollerus's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 35, et *Isagoge ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbrica*, p. ii. cap. v. p. 121. Arnold, *Histor. Ecclesiast.* vol. i. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. xxi. p. 1186. Weisman, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. p. 297. For an account of the two famous companions of Labbadie, viz. Du Lignon and Yvon, see Mollerus's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 472, 1020.

turns of fortune, and suffering much vexation and mockeries on account of her religious fancies, she ended her days at Franeker, in the province of Friesland, in the year 1680. Her writings were voluminous; but it would be a fruitless attempt to endeavour to draw from them an accurate and consistent scheme of religion. For the pretended *divine light*, that guides people of this class, does not proceed in a methodical way of reasoning and argument; it discovers itself by flashes, which shed nothing but thick darkness in the minds of those who investigate truth with the understanding and do not trust to the reports of fancy, that is so often governed by sense and passion. An attentive reader will however learn something by perusing the writings of this fanatical virgin; he will be persuaded, that her intellect must have been in a disordered state; that the greatest part of her *divine effusions* were borrowed from the productions of the mystics; and that, by the intemperance of her imagination, she has given an additional air of extravagance and absurdity to the tenets she has derived from these pompous enthusiasts. If we attend to the main and predominant principle that reigns throughout the incoherent productions of Bourignon, we shall find it to be the following; *That the christian religion neither consists in knowledge nor in practice, but in a certain internal feeling and divine impulse, that arises immediately from communion with the Deity.*^f Among the more considerable patrons of this fanatical doctrine, we may reckon Christian Bartholomew de Cordt, a jansenist, and priest of the oratory at Mechlin, who died at Nordstrandt, in the dutchy of Sleswick;^g and Peter Poiret, a man of a bold and penetrating genius, who was a great master of the cartesian philosophy.^h This latter has shown, in a striking manner, by his own example, that knowledge and ignorance, rea-

^f See for an ample account of Bourignon, the following writers; Moller. *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 85. *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbrica*, p. ii. p. 151. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. at the article Bourignon. Arnold, *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* vol. ii. ¶ See also Poiret's *Epist. de Auctoribus Mysticis*, sect. xiv. p. 565. This treatise of Poiret is inserted at the end of his book, *De Eruditione Solida et Superficiali*, vol. ii. edit. 4to.

^g Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 149.

^h Poiret dressed out in an artificial manner, and reduced to a kind of system, the wild and incoherent fancies of Bourignon, in his large work, entitled, 'L'Œconomie Divine, ou Systeme Universel,' which was published, both in French and Latin, at Amsterdam, in the year 1686, in seven volumes, 8vo. For an account of this mystic philosopher, whose name and voluminous writings have made such a noise, see 'Bibliotheca Brem. Theolog. Philol.' tom. iii. p. i. p. 76.

son and superstition, are often divided by thin partitions ; and that they sometimes not only dwell together in the same person, but also, by an unnatural and unaccountable union, lend each other mutual assistance, and thus engender monstrous productions.

v. The same spirit, the same views, and the same kind of religion that distinguished Bourignon, were observable in an English, and also a female fanatic, named Jane Leadley. who, toward the conclusion of this century, seduced by her visions, predictions, and doctrines, a considerable number of disciples, among whom there were some persons of learning ; and thus gave rise to what was called the *Philadelphian society*. This woman was of opinion that all dissensions among christians would cease, and the kingdom of the Redeemer become, even here below, a glorious scene of charity, concord, and felicity, if those who bear the name of Jesus, without regarding the forms of doctrine or discipline that distinguish particular communions, would all join in committing their souls to the care of the *internal guide*, to be instructed, governed, and formed by his divine impulse and suggestions. Nay, she went still further, and declared in the name of the Lord, that this desirable event would happen ; and that she had a divine commission to proclaim the approach of this glorious communion of saints, who were to be gathered together in one visible universal church, or kingdom, before the dissolution of this earthly globe. This prediction she delivered with a peculiar degree of confidence, from a notion that her *Philadelphian society* was the true *kingdom of Christ*, in which alone the divine spirit resided and reigned. We shall not mention the other dreams of this enthusiast, among which the famous doctrine of the final restoration of all intelligent beings to perfection and happiness held an eminent place. Leadley was less fortunate than Bourignon in this respect. that she had not such an eloquent and ingenious patron as Poiret to plead her cause, and to give an air of philosophy to her wild reveries. For Pordage and Bromley, who were the chief of her associates, had nothing to recommend them but their mystic piety and contemplative turn of mind. Pordage, more especially, was so far destitute of the powers of elocution and reasoning. that he even sur-

passed Jacob Boehmen, whom he admired, in obscurity and nonsense ; and, instead of imparting instruction to his readers, did no more than excite in them a stupid kind of awe by a high sounding jingle of pompous words.ⁱ

ⁱ See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri *Historia Sacra et Civilis*, *Sec. xvii. Decenn. x.* p. 90. Petri Poireti *Bibliotheca Mysticor.* p. 161, 174, 283, 286.

A

SHORT VIEW, OR GENERAL SKETCH

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE history of the christian church, during the present age, instead of a few pages, would alone require a volume, such are the number and importance of the materials that it exhibits to an attentive inquirer. It is therefore to be hoped that, in due time, some able and impartial writer will employ his labours on this interesting subject. At the same time to render the present work as complete as possible, and to give a certain clue, to direct those who teach or who study ecclesiastical history, through a multitude of facts that have not yet been gathered together, and digested into a regular order, we shall draw here a general sketch that will exhibit the principal outlines of the state of religion since the commencement of the present century. That this sketch may not swell to too great a size, we shall omit the mention of the authors who have furnished materials for this period of church history. Those that are acquainted with modern literature must know, that there are innumerable productions extant, from whence such a variety of lines and colours might be taken, as would render this rough and general draught a complete and finished piece.

II. The doctrines of Christianity have been propagated in Asia, Africa, and America, with equal zeal, both by the protestant and popish missionaries. But we cannot say the same thing of the true spirit of the gospel, or of the religious discipline and institutions that it recommends to the observance of christians; for it is an undeniable fact, that many of

Introductory
observation.

Concerning
the prosper-
ous state of
the church in
general, and
of the Rom-
ish church in
particular.

those whom the Romish missionaries have persuaded to renounce their false gods, are christians only as far as an external profession and certain religious ceremonies go; and that, instead of departing from the superstitions of their ancestors, they observe them still, though under a different form. We have indeed pompous accounts of the mighty success with which the ministry of the jesuits has been attended among the barbarous and unenlightened nations; and the French jesuits in particular are said to have converted innumerable multitudes in the course of their missions. This perhaps cannot be altogether denied, if we are to call those converts to Christianity who have received some faint and superficial notions of the doctrines of the gospel; for it is well known, that several congregations of *such* christians have been formed by the jesuits in the East Indies, and more especially in the kingdoms of Carnate, Madura, and Marava, on the coast of Malabar, in the kingdom of Tonquin, the Chinese empire, and also in certain provinces of America. These conversions have, in outward appearance, been carried on with particular success, since Anthony Veri has had the direction of the foreign missions, and has taken such special care, that neither hands should be wanting for this spiritual harvest, nor any expenses spared that might be necessary to the execution of such an arduous and important undertaking. But these pretended conversions, instead of effacing the infamy under which the jesuits labour, in consequence of the iniquitous conduct of their missionaries in former ages, have only served to augment it, and to show their designs and practices in a still more odious point of light. For they are known to be much more zealous in satisfying the demands of their avarice and ambition, than in promoting the cause of Christ: and are said to corrupt and modify, by a variety of inventions, the pure doctrine of the gospel, in order to render it more universally palatable, and to increase the number of their ambiguous converts.

III. A famous question arose in this century, which made a great noise in the Romish church, relating to the conduct of the jesuits in China, and their manner of promoting the cause of the gospel, by permitting the new converts to observe the religious rites and customs of their ancestors. This question was decided to the disadvantage of the mis-

The famous contest relating to the lawfulness of allowing the Chinese christians to observe their ancient rites

sionaries, in the year 1704, by Clement XI. who, by a solemn edict, forbad the Chinese christians to practice the religious rites of their ancestors, and more especially those that are celebrated by the Chinese in honour of their deceased parents, and of their great lawgiver Confucius.— This severe edict was nevertheless considerably mitigated, in the year 1715, in order to appease, no doubt, the resentment of the jesuits, whom it exasperated in the highest degree. For the pontiff allowed the missionaries to make use of the word *tien*, to express the *divine nature*, with the addition of the word *tchu*, to remove its ambiguity, and make it evident, that it was not the *heaven*, but the *Lord of heaven*, that the christian doctors worshipped ;^a he also permitted the observance of those rites and ceremonies that had so highly offended the adversaries of the jesuits, on condition that they should be considered merely as marks of respect to their parents, and as tokens of civil homage to their lawgivers, without being abused to the purposes of superstition, or even being viewed in a religious point of light. In consequence of this second papal edict, the Chinese converts to Christianity are allowed considerable liberties ; among other things, they have in their houses *tablets*, on which the names of their ancestors, and particularly of Confucius, are written in golden letters ; they are allowed to light candles before these tablets, to make offerings to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruits, and other delicacies, nay, to prostrate the body before them until the head touches the ground. The same ceremony of prostration is performed by the Chinese christians at the tombs of their ancestors.

The first of these papal edicts, which was designed to prevent the motley mixture of Chinese superstition with the religious institutions of Christianity, was brought into China, in the year 1705, by cardinal Tournon, the pope's legate ; and the second, which was of a more indulgent nature, was sent, in the year 1721, with Mezzabarba, who went to China with the same character. Neither the emperor nor the jesuits were satisfied with these edicts. Tournon, who executed the orders of his ghostly master with more zeal than prudence, was, by the express command of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in the

^a *Tien Tchu* signifies the *Lord of Heaven*.

year 1710. Mezzabarba, though more cautious and prudent, yet returned home without having succeeded in his negotiation; nor could the emperor be engaged, by either arguments or entreaties, to make any alteration in the institutions and customs of his ancestors.^b At present the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious and uncertain, this famous controversy is entirely suspended; and many reasons induce us to think, that both the pontiffs and the enemies of the jesuits will unite in permitting the latter to depart from the rigour of the papal edicts, and to follow their own artful and insinuating methods of conversion. For they will both esteem it expedient and lawful to submit to many inconveniences and abuses, rather than to risk the entire suppression of popery in China.

iv. The attempts made since the commencement of the present century, by the English and Dutch, and more especially by the former, to diffuse the light of Christianity through the benighted regions of Asia and America, have been carried on with more assiduity and zeal than in the preceding age. That the lutherans have borne their part in this salutary work, appears abundantly from the Danish mission, planned with such piety, in the year 1706, by Frederic IV. for the conversion of the Indians that inhabit the coast of Malabar, and attended with such remarkable success. This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but acquires daily new degrees of perfection under the auspicious and munificent patronage of that excellent monarch Christian VI. We will indeed readily grant, that the converts to Christianity that are made by the Danish missionaries, are less numerous than those which we find in the lists of the popish legates; but it may be affirmed, at the same time, that they are much better christians, and far excel the latter in the sincerity and zeal that accompany their profession. There is a great difference between christians in reality and christians in appearance; and it is very certain, that the popish missionaries are much more

^b Tournon had been made, by the pope, patriarch of Antioch; and Mezzabarba, to add a certain degree of weight to his mission, was created patriarch of Alexandria. After his return, the latter was promoted to the bishopric of Lodi, a preferment which, though inferior in point of station to his imaginary patriarchate, was yet more valuable in point of ease and profit. See a fuller account of this mission in Dr. Mosheim's 'Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China,' p. 26, &c. N.

ready, than the protestant doctors, to admit into their communion proselytes, who have nothing of Christianity but the name.

We have but imperfect accounts of the labours of the Russian clergy, the greatest part of whom lie yet involved in that gross ignorance that covered the most unenlightened ages of the church. We learn nevertheless from the modern records of that nation, that some of their doctors have employed, with a certain degree of success, their zeal and industry in spreading the light of the gospel in those provinces that lie in the neighbourhood of Siberia.

v. While the missionaries now mentioned exposed themselves to the greatest dangers and sufferings, in order to diffuse the light of divine truth in these remote and darkened nations, there arose in Europe, where the gospel had obtained a stable footing, a multitude of adversaries, who shut their eyes upon its excellence, and endeavoured to eclipse its immortal lustre.—
Private enemies of the gospel.
 There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhaled its poison ; and scarcely any denomination of christians among whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner, others under the mask of a christian profession ; but nowhere have these enemies of the purest religion, and consequently of mankind, whom it was designed to render wise and happy, appeared with more effrontery and insolence, than under the free governments of Great Britain and the United Provinces. In England, more especially, it is not uncommon to meet with books, in which not only the doctrines of the gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue, are impudently called in question, and turned into derision.^c

^c This observation, and the examples by which it is supported in the following sentence, stand in need of some correction. Many books have indeed been published in England against the divinity, both of the Jewish and christian dispensations ; and it is justly to be lamented, that the inestimable blessing of religious liberty, which the wise and good have improved to the glory of Christianity, by setting its doctrines and precepts in a rational light, and bringing them back to their primitive simplicity, has been so far abused, by the pride of some, and the ignorance and licentiousness of others, as to excite an opposition to the christian system, which is both designed and adapted to lead men, through the paths of wisdom and virtue, to happiness and perfection. It is nevertheless carefully to be observed, that the most eminent of the English unbelievers were far from renouncing, at least in their writings and profession, the truths of what they call natural religion, or denying the all changeable excellence

Such impious productions have cast a deserved reproach on the names and memories of Toland, Collins, Tindal, and Woolston, a man of an inauspicious genius, who made the most audacious, though senseless attempts, to invalidate the miracles of Christ. Add to these Morgan, Chubb, Mandeville, and others. And writers of the same class will soon be found in all the countries of Europe, particularly in those where the reformation has introduced a spirit of liberty, if mercenary booksellers are still allowed to publish, without distinction or reserve, every wretched production that is addressed to the passions of men, and designed to obliterate in their minds a sense of religion and virtue.

vi. The sect of *atheists*, by which, in strictness of speech, those only are to be meant who deny the existence and moral government of an infinitely wise and powerful Being, by whom all things subsist, is reduced to a very small number, and may be considered as almost totally extinct. Any that yet remain under the influence of this unaccountable delusion, adopt the system of Spinoza, and suppose the universe to be one vast substance, which excites and produces a great variety of motions, all uncontrollably necessary, by a sort of *internal force*, which they carefully avoid defining with perspicuity and precision.

The deists, under which general denomination those are comprehended who deny the divine origin of the gospel in particular, and are enemies to all revealed religion in general, form a motley tribe, which, on account of their jarring opinions, may be divided into different classes. The most decent, or, to use a more proper expression, the least extravagant and insipid form of deism, is that which aims at an association between Christianity and natural religion, and represents the gospel as no more than a republication of the original law of nature and reason, that was more or less obliterated in the minds of men. This is the hypothesis of Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, and several others, if we are to give credit to their own declarations, which indeed ought not always to be done without caution. This also appears to have been the sentiment

and obligations of virtue and morality. Dr. Mosheim is more especially mistaken, when he places Collins, Tindal, Morgan, and Chubb, in the list of those who called in question the perfections of the Deity, and the obligations of virtue; it was sufficient to put Mandeville, Woolston, and Toland, in this infamous class.

of an ingenious writer, whose eloquence has been ill employed in a book, entitled, *Essential Religion distinguished from that which is only Accessory*;^d for the whole religious system of this author consists in the three following points : That *there is a God* ; that *the world is governed by his wise providence* ; and that *the soul is immortal* ; and he maintains, that it was to establish these three points by his ministry, that Jesus Christ came into the world.

vii. The church of Rome has been governed, since the commencement of this century, by Clement XI. Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. who may be all considered as men The Romish church, and its pontiffs. of eminent wisdom, virtue, and learning, if we compare them with the pontiffs of the preceding ages. Clement XI. and Prosper Lambertini, who at present fills the papal chair under the title of Benedict XIV.^e stand much higher in the list of literary fame, than the other pontiffs now mentioned ; and Benedict XIII. surpassed them all in piety, or at least in its appearance, which, in the whole of his conduct, was extraordinary and striking. It was he that conceived the laudable design of reforming many disorders in the church, and restraining the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy ; and for this purpose held a council, in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1725, whose acts and decrees have been made public. But the event did not answer his expectations ; nor is there any probability that Benedict XIV. who is attempting the execution of the same worthy purpose, though by different means, will meet with better success.

We must not omit observing here, that the modern bishops of Rome make but an indifferent figure in Europe, and exhibit little more than an empty shadow of the authority of the ancient pontiffs. Their prerogatives are diminished, and their power is restrained within very narrow bounds. The sovereign princes and states of Europe, who embrace their communion, no longer tremble at the thun-

^d The original title of this book, which is supposed to have been written by one Muralt, a Swiss, author of the "Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les Francois," is as follows : "Lettres sur la Religion essentielle a l'Homme, distinguee de ce qui n'en est que l'accessoire." There have been several excellent refutations of this book published on the continent, among which the "Lettres sur les vrais principes de la Religion," in two volumes 8vo. composed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. Bouiller, deserve particular notice.

^e This history was published while Benedict XIV. was yet alive.

der of the Vatican, but treat their *anathemas* with indifference and contempt. They indeed load the *holy father* with pompous titles, and treat him with all the external marks of veneration and respect; yet they have given a mortal blow to his authority, by the prudent and artful distinction they make between the court of Rome and the Roman pontiff. For, under the cover of this distinction, they buffet him with one hand, and stroke with the other; and, under the most respectful profession of attachment to his person, oppose the measures, and diminish still more, from day to day, the authority of his court. A variety of modern transactions might be alleged in confirmation of this, and more especially the debates that have arisen in this century, between the court of Rome, and those of France, Naples, Sardinia, and Portugal, in all which that ghostly court has been obliged to yield, and to discover its extreme insignificance and weakness.

All prospect of a reconciliation between the protestant and Romish communions entirely removed.

VIII. There have been no serious attempts made in latter times to bring about a reconciliation between the protestant and Romish churches; for, notwithstanding the pacific projects formed by private persons with a view to this union, it is justly considered as an impracticable scheme. The difficulties that attend its execution were greatly augmented by the famous bull of Clement XI. entitled *Unigenitus*, which deprived the peacemakers of the principal expedient they employed for the accomplishment of this union, by putting it out of their power to soften and mitigate the doctrines of popery, that appeared the most shocking to the friends of the reformation. This expedient had been frequently practised in former times, in order to remove the disgust that the protestants had conceived against the church of Rome; but the bull *Unigenitus* put an end to all these modifications, and in most of those points that had occasioned our separation from Rome, represented the doctrine of that church in the very same shocking light in which they had been viewed by the first reformers. This shows, with the utmost evidence, that all the attempts the Romish doctors have made, from time to time, to give an air of plausibility to their tenets, and render them palatable, were so many snares insidiously laid to draw the protestants into their communion; that the specious conditions they proposed as the terms of a reconciliation, were

perfidious stratagems; and that consequently there is no sort of dependence to be made upon the promises and declarations of such a disingenuous set of men.

ix. The intestine discords, tumults and divisions, that reigned in the Romish church, during the preceding century, were so far from being terminated in this, that new fuel was added to the flame, and the animosities of the contending parties grew more vehement from day to day. These divisions still subsist. The jesuits are at variance with the dominicans, and some other religious orders, though these quarrels make little noise, and are carried on with some regard to decency and prudence; the dominicans are on bad terms with the franciscans; the controversy concerning the nature, lawfulness, and expediency of the Chinese ceremonies still continues, at least in Europe; and were we to mention all the debates that divide the Romish church, which boasts so much of its unity and infallibility, the enumeration would be endless. The controversy relating to jansenism, which was one of the principal sources of that division which reigned within the papal jurisdiction, has been carried on, with great spirit and animosity in France and in the Netherlands. The jansenists, or, as they rather choose to be called, the disciples of Augustin, are inferior to their adversaries the jesuits, in numbers, power, and influence; but they equal them in resolution, prudence, and learning, and surpass them in sanctity of manners and superstition, by which they excite the respect of the people. When their affairs take an unfavourable turn, and they are oppressed and persecuted by their victorious enemies, they find an asylum in the Netherlands. For the greatest part of the Roman catholics in Spanish Flanders, and all the members of that communion that live under the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, embrace the principles and doctrines of Jansenius.^f Those that inhabit the United provinces have almost renounced their allegiance

Intestine divisions in the Romish church.

^f This assertion is too general. It is true, that the greatest part of the Roman catholics in the United Provinces are jansenists, and that there is no legal toleration of the jesuits in that republic. It is nevertheless a known fact, and a fact that cannot be indifferent to those who have the welfare and security of these provinces at heart, that the jesuits are daily gaining ground among the Dutch papists. They have a flourishing chapel in the city of Utrecht, and have places of worship in several other cities, and in a great number of villages. It would be worthy of the wisdom of the rulers of the republic to put a stop to this growing evil, and not to suffer in a protestant country a religious order which has been suppressed in a popish one, and declared enemies of the state.

to the pope, though they profess a warm attachment to the doctrine and communion of the church of Rome; nor are either the exhortations or threatenings of the *holy father* sufficient to banish the obstinacy of these wayward children, or to reduce them to a state of subjection and obedience.

x. The cause of the jansenists acquired a peculiar degree of credit and reputation, both in this and the preceding century, by a French translation of the New Testament, made by the learned and pious Paschasius Quenel, a priest of the oratory, and accompanied with practical annotations, adapted to excite lively impressions of religion in the minds of men. The quintessence of jansenism was blended, in an elegant and artful manner, with these annotations, and was thus presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect. The jesuits were alarmed at the success of Quenel's book, and particularly at the change it had wrought in many, in favour of the theological doctrines of Jansenius; and to remove out of the way an instrument which proved so advantageous to their adversaries, they engaged that weak prince Louis XIV. to solicit the condemnation of this production at the court of Rome. Clement XI. granted the request of the French monarch, because he considered it as the request of the jesuits; and, in the year 1713, issued out the famous *bull Unigenitus*, in which Quenel's New Testament was condemned, and an *hundred and one propositions* contained in it pronounced heretical.* This bull, which is also known by the name of *The Constitution*, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the jesuits; but it was highly detrimental to the interests of the Romish church, as many of the wiser members of that communion candidly acknowledge. For it not only confirmed the protestants in their separation, by convincing them that

The debates
occasioned by
Quenel's New
Testament.

¶ To show what a political weathercock the *infallibility* of the holy father was upon this occasion, it may not be improper to place here an anecdote which is related by Voltaire in his *Siecle de Louis XIV.* vol. ii. under the article *Jansenisme*. The credit of the teller weighs but light in the balance of historical fame; the anecdote however is well attested, and is as follows: "The abbe Renaudot, a learned Frenchman, happening to be at Rome the first year of the pontificate of Clement XI. went one day to see the Pope, who was fond of men of letters, and was himself a learned man, and found his holiness reading father Quenel's book. On seeing Renaudot enter the apartment, the pope said, in a kind of rapture: 'Here is a most excellent book! we have nobody at Rome that is capable of writing in this manner: I wish I could engage the author to reside here!' And yet this same book was condemned afterward by this same pope."

the church of Rome was resolved to adhere obstinately to its ancient superstitions and corruptions; but also offended many of the Roman catholics, who had no particular attachment to the doctrines of Jansenius, and were only bent on the pursuit of truth and the advancement of piety. It must also be observed, that the controversy relating to jansenism was much heated and augmented, instead of being mitigated or suspended, by this despotic and ill judged edict.

XI. The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of bishops, and a large body composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the bull to a general council. It was more particularly opposed by the cardinal De Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the pontiff and by the resentment and indignation of Louis XIV. made a noble stand against the despotic proceedings of the court of Rome. These defenders of the ancient doctrine and liberties of the Gallican church were persecuted by the popes, the French monarch, and the jesuits, from whom they received an uninterrupted series of injuries and affronts. Nay, their entire ruin was aimed at by these unrelenting adversaries, and was indeed accomplished in part, since some of them were obliged to fly for refuge to their brethren in Holland; others forced by the terrors of penal laws, and by various acts of tyranny and violence, to receive the papal edict; while a considerable number, deprived of their places, and ruined in their fortunes, looked for subsistence and tranquillity at a greater distance from their native country. The issue of this famous contest was favourable to the *bull*, which was at length rendered valid by the authority of the parliament, and was registered among the laws of the state. This contributed, in some measure, to restore the public tranquillity, but it was far from diminishing the number of those who complained of the despotism of the pontiff; and the kingdom of France is still full of *appellants*,^b who reject the authority of the *bull*, and only wait for a favourable opportunity of reviving a controversy, which is rather

Commotions
in France oc-
casioned by
this bull.

^b This was the name that was assumed by those who appealed from the bull and the court of Rome to a general council.

suspended than terminated, and of kindling anew a flame that is covered without being extinguished.

XII. Amidst the calamities in which the jansenists have been involved, they have only two methods left

The circumstances that contribute to support the cause of jansenism in France.

of maintaining their cause against their powerful adversaries, and these are their *writings* and their *miracles*. The *former* alone have proved truly useful to them; the *latter* gave them only a tran-


sitory reputation, which, being ill founded, contributed in the issue to sink their credit. The writings in which they have attacked both the pope and the jesuits are innumerable; and many of them are composed with such eloquence, spirit, and solidity, that they have produced a remarkable effect. The jansenists, however, looking upon all human means as insufficient to support their cause, turned their views toward *supernatural* succours, and endeavoured to make it appear, that their cause was the peculiar object of the divine protection and approbation. For this purpose they persuaded the multitude, that God had endowed the bones and ashes of certain persons, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal in the cause of Jansenius, and had, at the point of death, appealed a second time from the pope to a general council, with the power of healing the most inveterate diseases. The person whose remains were principally honoured with this marvellous efficacy, was the abbe Paris, a man of family, whose natural character was dark and melancholy; his superstition excessive beyond all credibility; and who, by an austere abstinence from bodily nourishment, and the exercise of other inhuman branches of penitential discipline, was the voluntary cause of his own death.ⁱ To the miracles which were said to be wrought at the tomb of this fanatic, the jansenists added a great variety of visions and relations, to which they audaciously attributed a divine origin; for several members of the community, and more especially those who resided at Paris, pretended to be filled with the *Holy Ghost*; and, in consequence of this prerogative, delivered instructions, predictions, and exhortations, which, though frequently extravagant, and almost always insipid, yet moved the passions, and attracted the admiration, of the ignorant multi-

ⁱ The imposture that reigned in these pretended miracles has been detected and exposed by various authors; but by none with more acuteness, perspicuity, and penetration, than by the ingenious Dr. Douglas, in his excellent Treatise on Miracles, entitled *The Criterion*, which was published by Millar in the year 1754.

tude. The prudence however of the court of France, put a stop to these fanatical tumults and false miracles; and, in the situation in which things are at present, the jansenists have nothing left but their genius and their pens to maintain their cause.^k

XIII. We can say but very little of the Greek and eastern churches. The profound ignorance in which they live, and the despotic yoke under which they groan, prevent their forming any plans to extend their limits, or making any attempts to change their state. The state of the eastern church. The Russians, as we had formerly occasion to observe, assumed, under the reign of *Peter the Great*, a less savage and barbarous aspect than they had before that memorable period; and in this century have given some grounds to hope that they may one day be reckoned among the civilized nations. There are nevertheless immense multitudes of that rugged people, who are still attached to the brutish superstition and discipline of their ancestors; and there are several in whom the barbarous spirit of persecution still so far prevails, that, were it in their power, they would cut off the protestants and all other sects that differ from them, by fire and sword. This appears evident from a variety of circumstances, and more especially from the book which Stephen Javorski has composed against heretics of all denominations.

The Greek christians are said to be treated at present by their haughty masters with more clemency and indulgence than in former times. The nestorians and monophysites in Asia and Africa persevere in their refusal to enter into the communion of the Romish church, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties and alluring offers that have been made from time to time by the pope's legates, to conquer their inflexible constancy. The Roman Pontiffs have frequently attempted to renew, by another sacred expedition, their former connexions with the kingdom of Abyssinia; but they have not yet been able to find out a method of escaping the vigilance of that court, which still persists in its abhorrence of popery. Nor is it at all probable that the embassy, which is now preparing at Rome for the Abys-

 ^k Things are greatly changed since the learned author wrote this paragraph. The storm of just resentment that has arisen against the jesuits, and has been attended with the extinction of their order in Portugal, France, and in all the Spanish dominions, has disarmed the most formidable adversaries of jansenism, and must consequently be considered as an event highly favorable to the jansenists.

sinian emperor, will be attended with success. The monophysites propagate their doctrine in Asia with zeal and assiduity, and have not long ago gained over to their communion a part of the nestorians who inhabit the maritime coasts of India.

xiv. The lutheran church, which dates its foundation from the year 1517, and the confession of Augsburg from the year 1530, celebrated in peace and prosperity the *secular* return of these memorable periods in the years 1717 and 1730. It received, some years ago, a considerable accession to the number of its members; by the emigration of that multitude of protestants which abandoned the territory of Saltzburg and the town of Berchtolsgraden, in order to breathe a free air, and to enjoy unmolested the exercise of their religion. One part of these emigrants settled in Prussia, another in Holland, and many of them transplanted themselves and their families to America, and other distant regions. This circumstance contributed greatly to propagate the doctrine, and extend the reputation, of the lutheran church, which thus not only obtained a footing in Asia and America, but also formed several congregations of no small note in these remote parts of the world. The state of lutheranism at home has not been so prosperous, since we learn, both from public transactions, and also from the complaints of its professors and patrons, that, in several parts of Germany, the lutheran church has been injuriously oppressed, and unjustly deprived of several of its privileges and advantages, by the votaries of Rome.

xv. It has been scarcely possible to introduce any change into the system of doctrine and discipline that is received in that church, because the ancient confessions and rules that were drawn up to point out the tenets that were to be believed, and the rites and ceremonies that were to be performed, still remain in their full authority, and are considered as the sacred guardians of the lutheran faith and worship. The method however of illustrating, enforcing, and defending the doctrines of Christianity, has undergone several changes in the lutheran church. Toward the commencement of this century, an artless simplicity was generally observed by the ministers of that communion, and all philosophical terms and abstract reasonings were entirely laid aside, as more adapted to ob-

The external
state of the lu-
theran church.

Its internal
state.

secure than to illustrate the truths of the gospel. But in process of time a very different way of thinking began to take place; and several learned men entertained a notion, that the doctrines of Christianity could not maintain their ground, if they were not supported by the aids of philosophy, and exhibited and proved in a geometrical order.

The adepts in jurisprudence, who undertook, in the last century, the revision and correction of the body of ecclesiastical law that is in force among the lutherans, carried on their undertaking with great assiduity and spirit; and our church government would at this day bear another aspect, if the ruling powers had judged it expedient to listen to their counsels and representations. We see indeed in several places, evident proofs that the directions of these great men, relating to the external form of ecclesiastical government, discipline, and worship, are highly respected; and that their ideas, even of the doctrinal part of religion, have been more or less adopted by many. Hence it is not at all surprising, that warm disputes have arisen between them and the rulers of the church, concerning several points. The lutheran doctors are apprehensive that, if the sentiments of certain of these reformers took place, religion would become entirely subservient to the purposes of civil policy, and be at length converted into a mere state machine; and this apprehension is not peculiar to the clergy alone, but is also entertained by some persons of piety and candour, even among the civilians.

xvi. The liberty of thinking, speaking, and writing, concerning religious matters, which began to prevail in the last century, was, in this, still further confirmed and augmented; and it extended so far as to encourage both infidels and fanatics to pour forth among the multitude, without restraint, all the effusions of their enthusiasm and extravagance. Accordingly we have seen, and still see, numbers of fanatics and innovators start up from time to time, and, under the influence of enthusiasm, or of a disordered brain, divulge their crude fancies and dreams among the people, by which they either delude many from the communion of the established church, or at least occasion contests and divisions of the most disagreeable kind. We mentioned formerly several of these disturbers of the tranquillity of the church, to whom we may add here the notorious names of Tennhart, Gichtelius, Uberfeld, Rosenbach, Bredel, Scizius, Roemeling,

Intestine
enemies.

and many others, who either imagined that they were divinely inspired, or, from a persuasion of their superior capacity and knowledge, set up for reformers of the doctrine and discipline of the church. Many writers drew their pens against this presumptuous and fanatical tribe; though the greatest part of those who composed it were really below the notice of men of character, and were rather worthy of contempt than of opposition. And indeed it was not so much the force of reason and argument, as the experience of their bad success, that convinced these fanatics of their folly, and made them desist from their chimerical projects. Their attempts could not stand the trial of time and common sense; and therefore, after having made a transitory noise, they fell into oblivion. Such is the common and deserved fate of almost all the fanatical ringleaders of the deluded populace; they start up all of a sudden, and make a figure for a while; but, generally speaking, they ruin their own cause by their imprudence or obstinacy, by their austerity or perverseness, by their licentious conduct or their intestine divisions.

xvii. Many place in this fanatical class the brethren of Herrenhut- ters. Herrenhut, who were first formed into a religious community, in the village so named, in Lusatia, by the famous count Zinzendorff; and afterward grew so numerous, that their emigrants were spread abroad in all the countries of Europe, reached even as far as the Indies, and formed settlements in the remotest quarters of the globe. The Herrenhutters call themselves the descendants of the *Bohemian and Moravian brethren*, who, in the fifteenth century, threw off the despotic yoke of Rome, animated by the zealous exhortations and heroic example of John Huss. They may however be said, with more propriety, to imitate the example of that famous community, than to descend from those who composed it; for it is well known, that there are very few Bohemians and Moravians in the fraternity of the *Herrenhutters*; and it is extremely doubtful, whether even this small number are to be considered as the posterity of the ancient *Bohemian brethren*, that distinguished themselves so early by their zeal for the reformation.

If we are to give credit to the declarations of the *Herrenhutters*, they agree with the Lutherans in their doctrine and opinions, and only differ from them in their ecclesiastical discipline, and in those religious institutions and rules of life which form the resemblance between the *Bohemians*

brethren and the disciples of Zinzendorff. There are indeed many who doubt much of the truth of this declaration, and suspect that the society now under consideration, and more especially their rulers and ringleaders, speak the language of lutheranism when they are among the lutherans, in order to obtain their favour and indulgence; and those who have examined this matter with the most attention, represent this fraternity as composed of persons of different religions, as well as of various ranks and orders. Be that as it may, it is at least very difficult to guess the reason that induces them to live in such an entire state of separation from the lutheran communion, and to be so ambitiously zealous in augmenting their sect, if the only difference between them and the lutherans lies in the nature of their discipline, and in certain rites and institutions that do not belong to the essence of religion. For the true and genuine followers of Jesus Christ are but little concerned about the outward forms of ecclesiastical government and discipline, knowing that real religion consists in faith and charity, and not in external rites and institutions.¹

¶ ¹ It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim speak in such vague and general terms of this sect, without taking the least notice of their pernicious doctrines and their flagitious practices, that do not only disfigure the sacred truths of the gospel, but also sap all the foundations of morality. To be persuaded of this, the reader, beside the accounts which Rimius has given of this enormous sect, will do well to consult a curious *preface*, prefixed to the French translation of a *Pastoral Letter against Fanaticism*, addressed by Mr. Stinstra, an anabaptist minister in Friesland, to his congregation, and published at Leyden in the year 1752. It may not be amiss to add here a passage, relating to this odious community, from the bishop of Gloucester's treatise, entitled, *The Doctrine of Grace*. The words of that great and eminent prelate are as follows; "Aspurity respects practice, the *Moravians* give us little trouble. If we may credit the yet unconfuted relations, both in print and in MS. composed by *their own members*, the participants in their most sacred mysterious rites, their practices in the consummation of marriage are so horribly, so unspeakably flagitious, that this people seem to have no more pretence to be put into the number of christian sects, than the Turlupins of the thirteenth century, a vagabond crew of miscreants, who rambled over Italy, France, and Germany, calling themselves the *brothers and sisters of the free spirit*, who in speculation, professed that species of atheism called *pantheism*, and in practice, pretended to be exempted from all the obligations of morality and religion." See *Doctrine of Grace*, 12mo. vol. ii. p. 153. As to the doctrines of this sect, they open a door to the most licentious effects of fanaticism. Such among many others are the following, drawn from the express declarations of count Zinzendorff, the head and founder of the community. That the law is not a rule of life to a believer; that the moral law belongs only to the Jews; that a converted person cannot sin against light. But of all the singularities for which this sect is famous, the notions they entertain of the organs of generation in both sexes are the most enormously wild and extravagant "I consider," says count Zinzendorff, in one of his sermons, "the *parts* for distinguishing *both sexes* in christians, as the most honourable of the whole body, my Lord and God having partly inhabited them, and partly worn them himself." This raving sectary looks upon the conjugal act as a piece of scenery, in which the male represents Christ the husband of souls, and the female the church. "The married brother," says he, "knows matrimony, respects it, but does not think upon it of his own accord; and thus the precious member of the covenant, *i. e.* the *penis*, is so much forgot, becomes so useless, and consequently is reduced to such a natural

XVIII. It was the opinion of many, that the succours of philosophy were absolutely necessary to stem the torrent of superstition, and stop its growing progress, and that these alone were adapted to accomplish this desirable purpose. Hence the study of philosophy, which, toward the conclusion of the last century, seemed to decline, was now revived, established upon a more rational footing, and pursued with uncommon assiduity and ardour. The branch of philosophy, which is commonly known under the denomination of *metaphysics*, was generally preferred, as it leads to the first principles of things; and the improvements made in this important science were very considerable. These improvements were owing chiefly to the genius and penetration of the immortal Leibnitz, who cast a new light upon metaphysics, and gave this interesting branch of philosophy a more regular form. This science received a still greater degree of perfection from the philosophical labours of the acute and indefatigable Wolf, who reduced it into a scientific order, and gave its decisions the strength and evidence of a geometrical demonstration. Under this new and respectable form it captivated the attention and esteem of the greatest part of the German philosophers, and of those in general who pursue truth through the paths of strict evidence; and it was applied with great ardour and zeal to illustrate and confirm the great truths both of natural and revealed religion. This application of the *first philosophy* gave much uneasiness to some pious men, who were extremely solicitous to preserve pure and unmingled the doctrines of Christianity; and it was accordingly opposed by them with great eagerness and obstinacy. Thus the ancient contest between *philosophy* and *theology*, *faith* and *reason*, was unhappily revived, and has been carried on with much animosity for several years past. For many are of opinion, that this metaphysical philosophy inspires youthful minds with notions that are far from being favourable to the doctrines, and more especially to the positive institutions, of religion; that, seconded by the

numbness, by not being used, that afterward, when he is to marry, and use it, the Saviour must restore him from this deadness of body. And when an Esther by grace, and sister according to her make, gets sight of this member, her senses are shut up, and she holily perceives, that God the Son was a boy. Ye holy matrons, who as wives are about your vicechrists, honour that precious sign with the utmost veneration." We beg the chaste reader's pardon for presenting him with this odious specimen of the horrors of the Moravian theology.

The state of
philosophy a-
mong the lu-
therans.

warmth of fancy, at that age of levity and presumption, it engenders an arrogant contempt of divine revelation, and an excessive attachment to human reason, as the only infallible guide of man; and that, instead of throwing new light on the science of theology, and giving it an additional air of dignity, it has contributed, on the contrary, to cover it with obscurity, and to sink it into oblivion and contempt.

xix. In order to justify this heavy charge against the metaphysical philosophy, they appeal to the writings of Laurent Schmidt, whom they commonly call the Wertheim interpreter, from the place of his residence. This man, who was by no means destitute of abilities, and had acquired a profound knowledge of the philosophy now under consideration, undertook, some years ago, a new German translation of the holy scriptures, to which he prefixed a new system of theology, drawn up in a geometrical order, that was to serve him as a guide in the exposition of the sacred oracles. This undertaking proved highly detrimental to its author, as it drew upon him from many quarters severe marks of opposition and resentment; for, scarcely had he published the five books of Moses, as a specimen of his method and abilities, when he was not only attacked by several writers, but also brought before the supreme tribunal of the empire, and there accused as an enemy of the christian religion, and a caviller at divine truth. This severe charge was founded upon this circumstance only, that he had boldly departed from the common explication of certain passages in the books of Moses, which are generally supposed to prefigure the Messiah.^m On this account he was cast into prison, and his errors were looked upon as capitally criminal; but he luckily escaped the vigilance of his keepers, and saved himself by flight.

xx. The bare indication of the controversies that have divided the lutheran church since the commencement of this century would make up a long list. The religious contests that were set on foot by the

The Wertheim translation of the bible.

The controversies called pietistical, and other religious

^m Dr. Mosheim gives here but the half of the accusation brought against Schmidt, in the year 1737, when he was charged with attempting to prove, that there was not the smallest trace or vestige of the doctrine of the Trinity, nor any prediction pointing out the Messiah, to be found in the five books of Moses. It was by the authority of an imperial edict, addressed by Charles VI. to the princes of the empire, that Schmidt was imprisoned

contests, divide
the lutheran
church.

pietists were carried on in some places with animosity, in others with moderation, according to the characters of the champions, and the temper and spirit of the people. These contests however have gradually subsided in process of time, and seem at present to be all reduced to the following question, "Whether a wicked man be capable of acquiring a true and certain knowledge of divine things, or be susceptible of any degree or species of divine illumination." The controversy that has been excited by this question is considered by many as a mere dispute about words; its decision, at least, is rather a matter of curiosity than importance. Many other points, that had been more or less debated in the last century, occasioned keen contests in this, such as the *eternity of hell torments*; the *reign of Christ upon earth during a thousand years*; and the *final restoration of all intelligent beings* to order, perfection, and happiness. The mild and indulgent sentiments of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, concerning the importance of the controversy between the lutherans and Roman catholics, excited also a warm debate; for this doctor, together with his disciples, went so far as to maintain, that the difference between the two churches was of so little consequence, that a lutheran might safely embrace popery. The famous controversies that have been carried on between certain divines and some eminent civilians, concerning the rites and obligations of wedlock, the lawful grounds of divorce, and the nature and guilt of concubinage, are sufficiently known. Other disputes of inferior moment, which have been of a sudden growth, and of a short duration, we shall pass over in silence, as the knowledge of them is not necessary to our forming an accurate idea of the internal state of the lutheran church.

xxi. The reformed church still carries the same external aspect under which it has been already described.ⁿ For though there be every where extant certain books, creeds, and confessions, by which the wisdom and vigilance of ancient times thought proper to perpetuate the truths of religion, and to preserve them from the contagion of heresy; yet in most places, no person is obliged to adhere strictly to the doctrines they contain; and

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church.

ⁿ This description the reader will find above, at the beginning of the last century.

those who profess the main and fundamental truths of the christian religion, and take care to avoid too *great an intimacy*^o with the tenets of socinianism and popery, are deemed worthy members of the reformed church.^p Hence, in our times, this great and extensive community comprehends, in its bosom, arminians, calvinists, supralapsarians, sublapsarians, and universalists, who live together in charity and friendship,^q and unite their efforts in healing the breach, and diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that separate them from each other.^r This

¶ *o Nimiam consuetudinem.* The expression is remarkable and malignant; it would make the ignorant and unwary apt to believe, that the reformed church allows its members certain approaches toward *popery* and *socinianism*, provided they do not carry these approaches too far, even to an *intimate* union with them. This representation of the reformed church is too glaringly false to proceed from ignorance; and Dr. Mosheim's extensive knowledge places him beyond the suspicion of an involuntary mistake in this matter. It is true, this reflection bears hard upon his candour; and we are extremely sorry that we cannot, in this place, do justice to the knowledge of that great man, without arraigning his equity.

¶ *p* Nothing can be more unfair, or at least more inaccurate than this representation of things. It proceeds from a supposition that is quite chimerical, even that the reformed churches in England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, &c. form one *general body*, and have, beside their respective and particular systems of government and discipline, some general laws of *religious toleration*, in consequence of which they admit a variety of sects into their communion. But this *general hierarchy* does not exist. The friends of the reformation, whom the multiplied horrors and absurdities of popery obliged to abandon the communion of Rome, were formed, in process of time, into distinct ecclesiastical bodies, or national churches, every one of which has its peculiar form of government and discipline. The toleration that is enjoyed by the various sects and denominations of christians arises in part from the clemency of the ruling powers, and from the charity and forbearance which individuals think themselves bound to exercise, one toward another. ~ See the following note.

¶ *q* If the different denominations of christians here mentioned live together in the mutual exercise of charity and benevolence, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological opinions, this circumstance, which Dr. Mosheim seems to mention as a reproach, is, on the contrary, a proof, that the true and genuine spirit of the gospel, which is a spirit of forbearance, meekness, and charity, prevails among the members of the reformed churches. But it must be carefully observed, that this charity, though it discovers the amiable *bond of peace*, does not, by any means, imply uniformity of sentiment, indifference about truth, or suppose that the reformed churches have relaxed or departed from their system of doctrine. Indeed, as there is no general reformed church, so there is no general reformed Creed or Confession of Faith. The established church of England has its peculiar system of doctrine and government, which remains still unchanged, and in full force; and to which an assent is demanded from all its members, and in a more especial, solemn, and express manner from those who are its ministers. Such is the case with the national reformed churches in the United Provinces. The dissenters in these countries, who are tolerated by the state, have also their respective bonds of ecclesiastical union; and such of them, particularly in England and Ireland, as differ from the establishment only in their form of government and worship, and not in matters of doctrine, are treated with indulgence by the more moderate members of the national church, who look upon them as their brethren.

¶ *r* In the 4to. edition of this work, I mistook, in a moment of inadvertency, the construction of this sentence in the original Latin, and rendered the passage as if Dr. Mosheim had represented the reformed churches as diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that *separate them from the church of Rome*; whereas he represents them, and indeed what he says is rather an encomium than a reproach, as diminishing the weight of those controversies which *separate them from each other*. One of the circumstances that made me fall more easily into this mistake, was my

moderation is indeed severely censured by many of the reformed doctors in Switzerland, Germany, and more especially in Holland, who lament, in the most sorrowful strains, the decline of the ancient purity and strictness that characterized the doctrine and discipline of the church, and sometimes attack, with the strongest marks of indignation and resentment, these modern contemners of primitive orthodoxy. But as the moderate party has an evident superiority in point of numbers, power, and influence, these attacks of their adversaries are, generally speaking, treated with the utmost indifference.

xxii. Whoever therefore considers all these things with due attention, will be obliged to acknowledge, that neither the lutherans nor arminians have, at this day, any further subject of controversy or debate with the reformed church, considered in a general point of view, but only with individuals, with private persons that are members of this great community.^s

Projects of re-
union between
the reformed
and the luther-
rans.

having read, the moment before I committed it, Dr. Mosheim's insinuation with respect to the spirit of the church of England in the very next page, where he says very inconsiderately, "that we may judge of that spirit by the conduct of Dr. Wake, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their peculiar doctrines." This is supposing, though upon the foundation of a mistaken fact, that the church of England, at least, is making evident approaches to the church of Rome. When I had made the mistake, which turned really an eucœmism into an accusation, I thought it incumbent on me to defend the reformed church against the charge of an approximation to popery. For this purpose I observed, in note 2 of the 4to. edition, "that the reformed churches were never at such a distance from the spirit and doctrine of the church of Rome as they are at this day; and that the improvements in science, that characterize the last and the present age, seem to render a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossible in those who have been once delivered from its baneful influence." The ingenious author of the *Confessional* did not find this reasoning conclusive; and the objections he has started against it do not appear to me unsurmountable. I have therefore thrown upon paper some farther thoughts upon the present state of the reformed religion, and the influence of improvements in philosophy upon its advancement; and these thoughts the reader will find in the second appendix.

¶ * Granting this to be true, with respect to the arminians, it cannot be affirmed with equal truth, in regard to the lutherans, whose doctrine concerning the *corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the communication of the properties of his divine, to his human nature*, is rejected by all the reformed churches, without exception. But it is not universally true, even with respect to the arminians; for though these latter are particularly favoured by the church of England; though arminianism may be said to have become predominant among the members of that church, or at least to have lent its influence in mitigating some of its articles in the private sentiments of those who subscribe them; yet the Thirty Nine Articles of the church of England still maintain their authority; and when we judge of the doctrine and discipline of any church, it is more natural to form this judgment from its *established Creeds and Confession of Faith*, than from the sentiments and principles of particular persons. So that, with respect to the church of England, the direct contrary of what Dr. Mosheim asserts is strictly true; for it is rather with that church, and its rule of faith, that the lutherans are at variance, than with private persons, who, prompted by a spirit of christian moderation, mitigate some of its doctrines, in order charitably to extend the limits of its communion. But, if we turn our view to the reformed churches in Hol-

For the church, considered in its collective and general character, allows now to all its members the full liberty of entertaining the sentiments they think most reasonable, in relation to those points of doctrine that formerly excluded the lutherans and arminians from its communion, and looks upon the essence of Christianity and its fundamental truths as in no wise affected by these points, however variously they may be explained by the contending parties. But this moderation, instead of facilitating the execution of the plans that have been proposed by some for the reunion of the lutheran and reformed churches, contributes rather to prevent this reunion. or at least to render it much more difficult. For those among the lutherans who are zealous for the maintenance of the truth, complain, that the reformed church has rendered too wide the way of salvation, and opened the arms of fraternal love and communion, not only to us, lutherans, but also to christians of all sects and all denominations. Accordingly we find that when, about twenty years ago, several eminent doctors of our communion, with the learned and celebrated Matthew Pfaff at their head, employed their good offices with zeal and sincerity in order to our union with the reformed church; this pacific project was so warmly opposed by the greatest part of the lutherans, that it came to nothing in a short time.*

xxiii. The church of England, which is now the chief and leading branch of that great community that goes under the denomination of the reformed church, continues in the same state, and is govern-

The present state of the church of England.

land, Germany, and a part of Switzerland, the mistake of our author will appear still more palpable; for some of these churches consider certain doctrines, both of the arminians and lutherans, as a just cause of excluding them from their communion. The question here is not, whether this rigour is laudable; it is the matter of fact that we are examining at present. The church of England indeed, if we consider its present temper and spirit, does not look upon any of the errors of the lutherans as *fundamental*, and is therefore ready to receive them into its communion; and the same thing may, perhaps, be affirmed of several of the reformed churches upon the continent. But this is very far from being a proof, that the lutherans have at this day, as Dr. Mosheim asserts, *no further subject of controversy or debate with these churches*; it only proves, that these churches nourish a spirit of toleration and charity *worthy of imitation*.

¶ The project of the very pious and learned Dr. Pfaff for uniting the lutheran and reformed churches, and the reasons on which he justified this project, are worthy of the truly christian spirit, and do honour to the accurate and sound judgment of that most eminent and excellent divine.* And it is somewhat surprising, considering the proofs of moderation and judgment that Dr. Mosheim has given in other parts of this valuable history, that he neither mentions the project of Dr. Pfaff with applause, nor the stiffness of the lutherans on this occasion, with any mark of disapprobation.

* See this learned author's *Collectio Scriptorum Irenicorum ad Unitatem Inter-Protestantes Facientium* published in 4to. at Alalt in Saxony, in the year 1725.

ed by the same principles, that it assumed at the revolution under the reign of king William III. The established form of church government is *episcopacy*, which is embraced by the sovereign, the nobility, and the greatest part of the people. The *presbyterians*, and the numerous sects of different denominations that are comprehended under the general title of *nonconformists*, enjoy the sweets of religious liberty, under the influence of a *legal* toleration. Those indeed who are best acquainted with the present state of the English nation, tell us, that the dissenting interest declines from day to day, and that the cause of *nonconformity* owes this gradual decay, in a great measure, to the lenity and moderation that are practised by the rulers of the established church. The members of this church may be divided into two classes, according to their different ideas of the origin, extent, and dignity of episcopal jurisdiction. For some look upon the government of bishops to be founded on the authority of a divine institution, and are immoderately zealous in extending the power and prerogatives of the church; others, of a more mild and sedate spirit, while they consider the episcopal form of government as far superior to every other system of ecclesiastical polity, and warmly recommend all the precautions that are necessary to its preservation and the independence of the clergy, yet do not carry this attachment to such an excessive degree, as to refuse the name of a *church* to every religious community that is not governed by a bishop, or to defend the prerogatives and pretensions of the episcopal order with an intemperate zeal.^u These two classes are sometimes involved in warm debates, and oppose each other with no small degree of animosity, of which this present century has exhibited the following remarkable example. Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, the present bishop of Winchester, a prelate eminently distinguished by the accuracy of his judgment, and the purity of his flowing and manly eloquence, used his utmost endeavours, and not without success, to lower the authority of the church, or at least to

^u The learned and pious archbishop Wake, in a letter to father Courayer, dated from Croydon House, July 9, 1724, expresseth himself thus: "I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church; which I am convinced has been the government established in the christian church from the very time of the apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that *where* the ministry is not episcopal, there is no church, nor any true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry.

reduce the power of its rulers within narrow bounds. On the other hand, the church and its rulers found several able defenders; and, among the rest, Dr. John Potter, now archbishop of Canterbury, who maintained the rights and pretensions of the clergy with great eloquence and erudition. As to the spirit of the established church of England, in relation to those who dissent from its rule of doctrine and government, we see it no where better than in the conduct of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.^w

xxiv. The unbounded liberty which every individual in England enjoys of publishing, without restraint, his religious opinions, and of worshipping God in the manner he thinks the most conformable to reason and scripture, naturally produces a variety of sects, and gives rise to an uninterrupted succession of controversies about theological matters. It is scarcely possible for any historian, that has not resided for some time in England, and examined with attention, upon the spot, the laws, the privileges, the factions, and opinions of that free and happy people, to give a just and accurate account of these religious sects and controversies. Even the names of the greatest part of these sects have not as yet reached us, and many of those that are come to our knowledge we know but imperfectly. We are greatly in the dark with respect to the grounds and principles of these controversies, because we are destitute of the sources from whence proper information must be drawn. At present the ministerial labours of George Whitefield, who has formed a

Various sects
in England.
Whitefield.

^w Archbishop Wake certainly corresponded with some learned and moderate Frenchmen on this subject, particularly with Du Pin, the ecclesiastical historian; and no doubt the archbishop, when he assisted Coudray in his Defence of the validity of the *English Ordinations*, by furnishing him with unanswerable proofs drawn from the registers at Lambeth, had it in his view to remove certain groundless prejudices, which, while they subsisted among Roman catholics, could not but defeat all projects of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches. The interests of the protestant religion could not be in safer hands than archbishop Wake's. He who had so ably and so successfully defended protestantism, as a controversial writer, could not surely form any project of peace and union with a Roman catholic church, the terms of which would have reflected on his character as a negotiator. [¶] This note has been misunderstood and censured by the acute author of the *Confessional*. This censure gave occasion to the third *Appendix*, which the reader will find at the end of this volume, and in which the matter contained in this note is fully illustrated, and the conduct of archbishop Wake set in its true light.

community, which he proposes to render superior in sanctity and perfection to all other christian churches, make a considerable noise in England, and are not altogether destitute of success. If there is any consistency in this man's theological system, and he is not to be looked upon as an enthusiast, who follows no rule but the blind impulse of an irregular fancy, his doctrine seems to amount to these two propositions: "That true religion consists alone in holy affections, and in a certain inward *feeling*, which it is impossible to explain; and that christians ought not to seek truth by the dictates of reason, or by the aids of learning, but by laying their minds open to the direction and influence of divine illumination."

xxv. The Dutch church is still divided by the controversies that arose from the philosophy of Des Cartes and the theology of Cocceius; though these The state of the Dutch church. controversies be carried on with less bitterness and animosity at present than in former times. It is even to be hoped that these contests will soon be totally extinguished; since it is well known that the newtonian philosophy has expelled cartesianism from almost all the academies and schools of learning in the United Provinces. We have already mentioned the debates that were occasioned by the opinions of Roell. In the year 1703, Frederic Van Leenhof was suspected of a propensity toward the system of Spinoza, and drew upon him a multitude of adversaries, on account of a remarkable book, entitled, *Heaven upon Earth*; in which he maintained literally, that it was the duty of christians to rejoice always, and to suffer no feelings of affliction and sorrow to interrupt their gaiety. The same accusations were brought against an illiterate man, named William Deurhoff, who, in some treatises composed in the Dutch language, represented the Divine Nature under the idea of a certain *force*, or *energy*, that is diffused throughout the whole universe, and acts in every part of the great fabric. The most recent controversies that have made a noise in Holland, were those that sprung from the opinions of Mr. James Saurin, and Mr. Paul Maty, on two very different subjects. The former, who was minister of the French in the Hague, and acquired a shining reputation by his genius and eloquence, fell into an error, which, if it may be called such, was at least an error of a very pardonable kind. For, if we ex-

cept some inaccurate and unwary expressions, his only deviation from the received opinions consisted in his maintaining, that it was sometimes lawful to swerve from truth, and to deceive men by our speech in order to the attainment of some great and important good.* This sentiment was not relished, as the most considerable part of the reformed churches adopt the doctrine of Augustin, "That a lie or a violation of the truth can never be allowable in itself, or advantageous in the issue." The conduct of Maty was much more worthy of condemnation; for, in order to explain the mystery of the Trinity, he invented the following unsatisfactory hypothesis; "That the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost* were two finite Beings, that had been created by *God*, and at a certain time were united to the Divine nature."[†]

xxvi. The particular confession of faith, that we have already had occasion to mention under the denomination of the *Formulary of Agreement or Concord*, has, since the commencement of this century, produced warm and vehement contests in Switzerland, and more especially in the canton of Berne. In the year 1718, the magistrates of Berne published an order, by which all professors and pastors, particularly those of the university and church of Lausanne, who were suspected of entertaining any erroneous opinions, were obliged to declare their assent to this *For-*

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the *Formula Consensus*, or *Form of Agreement*.

✧ See Saurin's *Discours Historiques, Theologiques, Critiques, et Moraux, sur les evenemens les plus memorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, tom. i. of the folio edition.

✧ Dr. Mosheim, in another of his learned productions, has explained in a more accurate and circumstantial manner the hypothesis of Maty, which amounts to the following propositions; "That the Father is the pure *Deity*; and that the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost* are two other persons, in each of whom there are two natures; one divine, which is the same in all the three persons, and with respect to which they are one and the same *God*, having the same numerical divine essence: and the other a finite and dependent nature, which is united to the divine nature in the same manner in which the orthodox say, that Jesus Christ is *God* and *Man*." See Mosheim's 'Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes,' published at Altena, in the year 1743, vol. ii. p. 498. But principally the original work of Mr. Maty, which was published, at the Hague, in the year 1729, under the following title; 'Lettre d'un Theologien a un autre Theologien sur le Mystere de Trinite.' The publication of this hypothesis was unnecessary, as it was really destitute even of the merit of novelty, being very little more than a repetition of what Dr. Thomas Burnet, prebendary of Sarum, and rector of West Kingston in Wiltshire, had said, about ten years before, upon this mysterious subject, which nothing but presumption can make any man attempt to render intelligible. See a treatise published, without his name, by Dr. Burnet, in the year 1720, under the following title; 'The Scripture Trinity intelligibly explained; or, An Essay toward the Demonstration of a Trinity in Unity from Reason and Scripture, in a Chain of Consequences from certain Principles, &c. by a divine of the church of England.' See also the same author's 'Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of the World by Christ, intelligibly explained,' &c.

mulary, and to adopt it as the rule of their faith. This injunction was so much the more grievous, as no demand of that kind had been made for some time before this period; and the custom of requiring subscription to this famous confession had been suspended in the case of several, who were promoted in the academy, or had entered into the church. Accordingly, many pastors and candidates for holy orders refused the assent that was demanded by the magistrates, and some of them were punished for this refusal. Hence arose warm contests and heavy complaints, which engaged the king of Great Britain, and the states general of the United Provinces, to offer their intercession, in order to terminate these unhappy divisions; and hence the *Formulary* under consideration lost much of its credit and authority. Nothing memorable happened during this period in the German churches. The reformed church that was established in the palatinate, and had formerly been in such a flourishing state, suffered greatly from the persecuting spirit and the malignant counsels of the votaries of Rome.

xxvii. The socinians, who are dispersed through the different countries of Europe, have never hitherto been able to form a separate congregation, or to celebrate publicly divine worship, in a manner conformable to the institutions of their sect; though it is well known that, in several places, they hold clandestine meetings of a religious kind. The person that made the principal figure among them in this century, was the learned Samuel Crellius, who died in an advanced age at Amsterdam; he indeed preferred the denomination of artemonite before that of socinian, and really departed, in many points, from the received doctrines of that sect.

The arians found a learned and resolute patron in William Whiston, professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge, who defended their doctrine in various productions, and chose rather to resign his chair, than to renounce his opinions. He was followed in these opinions, as is commonly supposed, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of great abilities, judgment, and learning, who, in the year 1724, was charged with altering and modifying the ancient and orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.² But it must argue

² It is but too evident, that few controversies have so little augmented the sum of knowledge, and so much hurt the spirit of charity, as the controversies that have

a great want of equity and candour, to rank this eminent man in the class of arians, taking that term in its proper and natural signification ; for he only maintained what is

been carried on in the christian church in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Whiston was one of the first divines who revived this controversy in the eighteenth century. About the year 1706, he began to entertain some doubts about the *proper* eternity and omniscience of Christ. This led him to review the popular doctrine of the Trinity ; and, in order to execute this review with a degree of diligence and circumspection suitable to its importance, he read the New Testament twice over, and also all the ancient genuine monuments of the christian religion till near the conclusion of the second century. By this inquiry, he was led to think, that, at the incarnation of Christ, the *Logos*, or Eternal Wisdom, supplied the place of the *rational soul* or *πνεῦμα* ; that the eternity of the Son of God was not a real *distinct* existence, as of a son properly *coeternal* with his father by a true eternal generation, but rather a metaphysical existence *in potentia*, or in some sublimer manner in the father, as his wisdom or word ; that Christ's real *creation* or *generation*, for both these terms are used by the earliest writers, took place some time before the creation of the world : that the council of Nice itself established no other eternity of Christ ; and, finally, that the arian doctrine in these points was the original doctrine of Christ himself, of his holy apostles, and of the most primitive christians. Mr. Whiston was confirmed in these sentiments by reading Novatian's Treatise concerning the Trinity ; but more especially by the perusal of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the antiquity and authenticity of which he endeavoured, with more zeal than precision and prudence, to prove, in the third part of his *Primitive Christianity Revived*.

This learned visionary, and upright man, was a considerable sufferer by his opinions. He was not only removed from his theological and pastoral functions, but also from his mathematical professorship, as if arianism had extended its baneful influence even to the science of lines, angles, and surfaces. This measure was undoubtedly singular, and it appeared rigid and severe to all those, of both parties, who were dispassionate enough to see things in their true point of light. And indeed, though we should grant that the good man's mathematics might, by erroneous conclusions, have corrupted his orthodoxy, yet it will still remain extremely difficult to comprehend, how his heterodoxy could hurt his mathematics. It was not therefore consistent, either with clemency or good sense, to turn Mr. Whiston out of his mathematical chair, because he did not believe the explication of the Trinity that is given in the athanasian creed ; and I mention this as an instance of the unfair proceedings of immoderate zeal, which often confounds the plainest distinctions, and deals its punishments without measure or proportion.

Dr. Samuel Clarke stepped also aside from the notions commonly received concerning the Trinity ; but his modification of this doctrine was not so remote from the popular and orthodox hypothesis, as the sentiment of Whiston. His method of inquiring into that incomprehensible subject was modest, and, at least, promised fair as a guide to truth. For he did not begin by abstract and metaphysical reasonings in his illustrations of this doctrine, but turned his first researches to the *word* and to the *testimony*, persuaded that, as the doctrine of the Trinity was a matter of mere revelation, all human explications of it must be tried by the declarations of the New Testament, interpreted by the rules of grammar, and the principles of sound criticism. It was this persuasion that produced the doctor's famous book, entitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, wherein every Text in the New Testament relating to that Doctrine is distinctly considered, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained*. The doctrine which this learned divine drew from his researches, was comprehended in iv. propositions, which, with the proper illustrations, form the second part of this work. The reader will find them there at full length. We shall only observe here, that Dr. Clarke, if he was careful in searching after the true meaning of those scripture expressions, that relate to the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, was equally circumspect in avoiding the accusation of heterodoxy, as appears by the series of propositions now referred to. There are three great rocks of heresy, on which many bold adventurers on this antipacific ocean have been seen to split violently. These rocks are *tritheism*, *sabellianism*, and *arianism*. Dr. Clarke got evidently clear of the first, by denying the *self existence* of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by maintaining their *derivation* from, and *subordination* to the Father. He laboured hard to avoid the second, by acknowledging the

commonly called the *arminian subordination*, which has been, and is still adopted by some of the greatest men in England, and even by some of the most learned bishops of that nation. This doctrine he illustrated with greater care and perspicuity than any before him had done, and taught

personality and distinct agency of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and he flattered himself with having escaped from the dangers of the third, by his asserting the *eternity*, for the doctor believed the possibility of an eternal production which Whiston could not digest, of the two divine subordinate *persons*. But with all his circumspection, Dr. Clarke did not escape opposition and censure. He was abused and answered, and heresy was subdivided and modified, in order to give him an opprobrious title, even that of *semiarian*. The convocation threatened, and the doctor calmed by his prudence the apprehension and fears which his *scripture doctrine of the Trinity* had excited in that learned and reverend assembly. An authentic account of the proceedings of the two houses of convocation upon this occasion, and of Dr. Clarke's conduct in consequence of the complaints that were made against his book, may be seen in a piece supposed to have been written by the Rev. Mr. John Lawrence, and published at London in 8vo. in the year 1714, under the following title: 'An Apology for Dr. Clarke, containing an account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity.' The true copies of all the original papers relating to this affair are published in this apology.

If Dr. Clarke was attacked by authority, he was also combated by argument. The learned Dr. Waterland was one of his principal adversaries, and stands at the head of a polemical body composed of eminent divines, such as Gastrel, Wells, Nelson, Mayo, Knight, and others, who appeared in this controversy. Against these, Dr. Clarke, unawed by their numbers, defended himself with great spirit and perseverance, in several *letters and replies*. This prolonged a controversy, which may often be suspended through the fatigue of the combatants, or the change of the mode in theological researches, but which will probably never be terminated; for nothing affords such an endless subject of debate as a doctrine above the reach of human understanding, and expressed in the ambiguous and improper terms of human language, such as *persons, generation, substance, &c.* which in this controversy either convey no ideas at all, or false ones. The inconveniences, accordingly, of departing from the divine simplicity of the scripture language on this subject, and of making a matter of mere revelation an object of human reasoning, were palpable in the writings of both the contending parties. For if Dr. Clarke was accused of verging toward *arianism*, by maintaining the derived and *caused* existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, it seemed no less evident that Dr. Waterland was verging toward *tritheism*, by maintaining the *self-existence and independence* of these divine persons, and by asserting that the subordination of the Son to the Father is only a subordination of *office*, and not of *nature*. So that if the former divine was deservedly called a *semiarian*, the latter might, with equal justice, be denominated a *semitritheist*. The difference between these two learned men lay in this, that Dr. Clarke, after making a faithful collection of the texts in scripture that relate to the Trinity, thought proper to interpret them by the maxims and rules of right reasoning, that are used on other subjects: whereas Dr. Waterland denied that this method of reasoning was to be admitted in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, which was far exalted above the sphere of human reason, and therefore he took the texts of scripture in their direct, literal, and grammatical sense. Dr. Waterland, however, employed the words *persons, subsistence, &c.* as useful for fixing the notion of *distinction*; the words *uncreated, eternal, and immutable*, for ascertaining the divinity of each *person*; and the words *interior generation and procession*, to indicate their *union*. This was departing from his grammatical method, which ought to have led him to this plain conclusion, that the Son and the Holy Ghost, to whom divine attributes are ascribed in scripture, and even the denomination of God to the former, possess these attributes in a manner which it is impossible for us to understand in this present state, and the understanding of which is consequently unessential to our salvation and happiness. The doctor, indeed, apologizes in his *queries*, p. 321, for the use of these metaphysical terms, by observing, that "they are not designed to enlarge our views, or to add any thing to our stock of ideas, but to secure the plain fundamental truth, *That Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are all strictly divine, and uncreated; and yet are not three Gods, but one God.*" It is, however, difficult to comprehend how terms, that neither *enlarge our views*, nor give

that the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* are equal in *nature*, and different in *rank, authority, and subordination*.^a A great number of English writers have endeavoured, in a variety of ways, to invalidate and undermine the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; and it was this consideration that engaged a lady,^b eminently distinguished by her orthodoxy and opulence, to leave by her testament a rich legacy as a foundation for a lecture, in which eight sermons are preached annually by a learned divine, who is nominated to that office by the trustees. This foundation has subsisted since the year 1720, and promises to posterity an ample collection of learned productions in defence of this branch of the christian faith.

us *ideas*, can secure any truth. It is difficult to conceive what our faith gains by being entertained with a certain number of *sounds*. If a Chinese should explain a term of his language which I did not understand, by another term, which he knew beforehand that I understood as little, his conduct would be justly considered as an insult against the rules of conversation and good breeding; and, I think it is an equal violation of the equitable principles of candid controversy, to offer as illustrations, propositions or terms that are as unintelligible and obscure as the thing to be illustrated. The words of the excellent and learned Stillingfleet, in the Preface to his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, administer a plain and a wise rule, which, were it observed by divines, would greatly contribute to heal the wounds which both *truth* and *charity* have received in this controversy. "Since both sides yield, says he, that the matter they dispute about is above their reach, the wisest course they can take is, to assert and defend *what is revealed* and not to be *peremptory* and quarrelsome about that which is acknowledged to be above our comprehension; I mean as to the *manner* how the *three persons* partake of the *divine nature*."

Those who are desirous of a more minute historical view of the manner in which the trinitarian controversy has been carried on during this present century, may consult a pamphlet, entitled, 'An Account of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets that have been wrote on either Side in the Controversy concerning the Trinity since the year 1712; in which is also contained, an Account of the Pamphlets written this last year, on each side, by the Dissenters, to the end of the year 1719. This pamphlet was published at London in the year 1720. The more recent treatises on the subject of the Trinity are sufficiently known.

¶ a It will appear to those who read the preceding note z, that Dr. Mosheim has here mistaken the true hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, or, at least, expresseth it imperfectly; for what he says here is rather applicable to the opinion of Dr. Waterland. Dr. Clarke maintained an equality of perfections between the three Persons; but a *subordination of nature* in point of existence and derivation.

b Lady Moyer.

APPENDIX II.

SOME OBSERVATIONS, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REFORMED RELIGION, AND THE INFLUENCE OF IMPROVEMENTS IN PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE ON ITS PROPAGATION AND ADVANCEMENT;

OCCASIONED BY SOME PASSAGES IN THE PREFACE TO A BOOK ENTITLED,
THE CONFESSIONAL.

IN one of the notes,^a which I added to those of Dr. Mosheim, in my translation of his Ecclesiastical History, I observed that “the reformed churches were never at such a distance from the spirit and doctrine of the church of Rome as they are at this day; that the improvements in science, that characterize the last and the present age, seem to render a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossible in those who have been once delivered from its baneful influence; *and that*, if the dawn of science and philosophy toward the end of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries, was favourable to the cause of the reformation, their progress, which has a kind of influence even upon the multitude, must confirm us in the principles that occasioned our separation from the church of Rome.”

This reasoning did not appear conclusive to the ingenious author of the confessional, who has accordingly made some critical reflections upon it in the preface to that work. However, upon an impartial view of these reflections, I find that this author's *excessive* apprehensions of the progress of popery have had an undue influence on his method of reasoning on this subject. He supposes, *preface*, p. 59 and 60, that the improvements in science and philosophy, in some popish countries, have been as considerable as in any reformed country; and afterward asks, “what intelligence we have from these popish countries of a proportionable progress of religious reformation? Have we no reason to suspect, *adds he*, that, if an accurate account were to be taken, the balance, in point of conversions, in the *most improved* of these countries, would be greatly against the reformed religion?”

^a See volume ii. p. 573, of the quarto edition. This note was occasioned by my mistaking, in a moment of inadvertency, the true sense of the passage to which it relates. This mistake I have corrected in the octavo edition, and in the *supplement* to the quarto edition.

I cannot see how these observations, or rather conjectures, even were they founded in truth and fact, tend to prove my reasoning inconclusive. I observed, that the progress of science was adapted to confirm *us protestants* in the belief and profession of the reformed religion; and I had here in view, as every one may see, those countries in which the protestant religion is established; and this author answers me by observing, that the progress of the reformation in some popish countries is not proportionable to the progress of science and philosophy in these countries. This, surely, is no answer at all; since there are in popish countries *accidental circumstances* that counteract, in favour of popery, the influence of those improvements in science, which are in direct opposition to its propagation and advancement; circumstances that I shall consider presently, and which do not exist in protestant states. This subject is interesting; and I therefore presume, that some farther thoughts upon it, will not be disagreeable to the candid reader.

The sagacious author of the confessional cannot, I think, seriously call in question the *natural* tendency of improvements in learning and science to strengthen and confirm the cause of the reformation. For as the *foundations* of popery are a *blind submission* to an usurped authority over the understandings and consciences of men, and an *implicit credulity* that adopts, without examination, the miracles and visions that derive their existence from the crazy brains of fanatics, or the lucrative artifice of impostors, so it is unquestionably evident, that the progress of sound philosophy, and the spirit of free inquiry it produces, strikes directly at these foundations. I say the progress of *sound philosophy*, that the most unattentive reader may not be tempted to imagine, as the author of the confessional has been informed, preface, page 60, that "improvements in philosophy have made many sceptics in all churches, reformed and unreformed." For I am persuaded, that as *true Christianity* can never lead to *superstition*, so *true philosophy* will never be a guide to infidelity and scepticism. We must not be deceived with the name of philosophers, which some poets and wits have assumed in our days, particularly upon the continent, and which many lavish upon certain subtle refiners in dialectics, who bear a much greater resemblance of overweening sophists, than of real

sages. We must not be so far lost to all power of distinguishing, as to confound, in one common mass, the philosophy of a Bacon, a Newton, a Boyle, and a Niewentyt, with the incoherent views and rhetorical rants of a Bolingbroke, or the flimsy sophistry of a Voltaire. And though candour must acknowledge, that some men of true learning have been so unhappy as to fall into infidelity, and charity must weep to see a Hume and D'Alembert joining a set of men that are unworthy of their society, and covering a dark and uncomfortable system with the lustre of their superior talents, yet equity itself may safely affirm, that neither their science nor their genius are the causes of their scepticism.

But if the progress of science and free inquiry have a natural tendency to destroy the foundations of popery, how comes it to pass that in popish countries the progress of the reformation bears no proportion to the progress of science? and how can we account for the ground which popery, if the apprehensions of the author of the confessional are well founded, gains even in England?

Before I answer the first of these questions, it may be proper to consider the matter of fact, and to examine, for a moment, the state of science and philosophy in popish countries; this examination, if I am not mistaken, will confirm the theory I have laid down with respect to the influence of philosophical improvement upon true religion. Let us then turn our view first to one of the most considerable countries in Europe, I mean Germany; and here we shall be struck with this undoubted fact, that it is in the protestant part of this vast region only, that the improvements of science and philosophy appear, while the barbarism of the fifteenth century reigns, as yet, in those districts of the empire that profess the Romish religion. The celebrated M. D'Alembert, in his treatise, entitled, *De l'abus de la Critique en matiere de Religion*, makes the following remarkable observation on this head; "We must acknowledge, *though with sorrow*, the present superiority of the protestant universities in Germany over those of the Romish persuasion. This superiority is so striking, that foreigners who travel through the empire, and pass from a Romish academy to a protestant university, even in the same neighbourhood, are induced to think that they have rode, in an hour, four hundred leagues, or lived, in that

short space of time, four hundred years; that they have passed from Salamanca to Cambridge, or from the times of Scotus to those of Newton. Will it be believed, says the same *author*, in succeeding ages, that, in the year 1750, a book was published in one of the principal cities of Europe, Vienna, with the following title; “*Systema Aristotelicum de formis substantialibus et accidentibus absolutis, i. e. The Aristotelian System concerning substantial forms and absolute accidents?*” Will it not rather be supposed, that this date is an error of the press, and that 1550 is the true reading? See D’Alembert’s *Melanges de Literature, d’Histoire & de Philosophie*, vol. iv. p. 376. This fact seems evidently to show the connexion that there is between improvements in science and the free spirit of the reformed religion. The state of letters and philosophy in Italy and Spain, where cannon law, monkish literature, and scholastic metaphysics, have reigned during such a long course of ages, exhibits the same gloomy spectacle. Some rays of philosophical light are now breaking through the cloud in Italy; Boscovich, and some geniuses of the same stamp, have dared to hold up the lamp of science, without feeling the rigour of the inquisition, or meeting with the fate of Galilei. If this dawning revolution be brought to any degree of perfection, it may, in due time, produce effects that at present we have little hopes of.

France, indeed, seems to be the country which the author of the confessional has principally in view, when he speaks of a considerable progress in philosophy in popish states that has not been attended with a proportionable influence on the reformation of religion. He even imagines, that “if an account were to be taken, the balance, in point of conversions, in this most improved of the popish countries, would be greatly against the reformed religion.” The reader will perceive, that I might grant this, without giving up any thing that I maintained in the note which this judicious author censures. I shall however examine this notion, that we may see whether it is to be adopted without restriction; and perhaps it may appear, that the improvements in philosophy have had more influence on the spirit of religion in France than this author is willing to allow.

And here I observe, in the first place, that it is no easy matter either for him or for me to calculate the number of

conversions that are made, on both sides, by priests armed with the secular power, and protestant ministers discouraged by the frowns of government and the terrors of persecution. If we judge of this matter by the external face of things, the calculation may, indeed, be favourable to his hypothesis, since the *apostate protestant* comes forth to view, and is publicly enrolled in the registers of the church, while the *converted papist* is obliged to conceal his profession, and to approach the truth, like Nicodemus, *secretly and by night*. This evident diversity of circumstances, in the respective proselytes, shows that we are not to form our judgment by external appearances, and renders it but equitable to presume, that the progress of knowledge may have produced many examples of the progress of reformation, which do not strike the eye of the public. It is not, in effect, to be presumed, that if either a *toleration*, or even an indulgent connivance, were granted to French protestants, many would appear friends of the reformation, who, at present, have not sufficient strength of mind to become martyrs, or confessors, in its cause. History informs us of the rapid progress the reformation made in France in former times, when a legal toleration was granted to its friends. When this toleration was withdrawn, an immense number of protestants abandoned their country, their relations, and their fortunes, for the sake of their religion. But when that abominable system of tyranny was set up, which would neither permit the protestants to profess their religion at home, nor to seek for the enjoyment of religious liberty abroad; and when they were thus reduced to the sad alternative of dissimulation or martyrdom, the courage of many failed, though their persuasion remained the same. In the south of France many continued, and still continue, their profession, even in the face of those booted apostles, who are sent, from time to time, to dragoon them into popery. In other places, particularly in the metropolis, where the empire of the mode, the allurements of court favour, the dread of persecution, unite their influence in favour of popery, the public profession of protestantism lies under heavy discouragements, and would require a zeal that rises to heroism; a thing too rare in modern times! in a word, a religion, like popery, which forms the main spring in the political machine, which is doubly armed with allurements and terrors, must damp the fortitude of

the feeble friend to truth, and attract the *external* respect even of libertines, freethinkers, and sceptics.

But, in the *second place*, if it should be alleged, that men eminent for learning and genius have adhered *seriously* to the profession of popery, the fact cannot be denied. But what does it prove? It proves only that, in such persons, there are circumstances that counteract the natural influence of learning and science. It cannot be expected that the influence of learning and philosophy will always obtain a complete victory over the attachment to a superstitious church, that is riveted by the early prejudices of education, by impressions formed by the examples of respectable personages who have professed and defended the doctrine of that church, by a habit of veneration for authority, and by numberless associations of ideas, whose combined influence gives a wonderful bias to the mind, and renders the impartial pursuit of truth extremely difficult. Thus knowledge is acquired with an express design to strengthen previous impressions and prejudices. Thus many make considerable improvements in science, who have never once *ventured* to review their *religious* principles, or to examine the authority on which they have been taken up.

Others observe egregious abuses in the Romish church, and are satisfied with rejecting them in secret, without thinking them sufficient to justify a separation. This class is extremely numerous; and it cannot be said that the improvements in science have had no effect upon their religious sentiments. They are neither thorough *papists* nor entire *protestants*; but they are manifestly verging toward the reformation.

Nearly allied to this class is another set of men, whose case is singular, and worthy of attention. Even in the bosom of the Romish church they have tolerably just notions of the sublime simplicity and genuine beauty of the christian religion; but, either from false reasonings upon human nature, or an observation of the powerful impressions that authority makes upon the credulity, and a pompous ritual upon the senses of the multitude, imagine that Christianity, in its native form, is too pure and elevated for vulgar souls, and therefore countenance and maintain the absurdities of popery, from a notion of their utility. Those who conversed intimately with the sublime Fene-

lon, archbishop of Cambray, have declared, that such was the nature of his sentiments with respect to the public religion of his country.

To all this I may add, that a notion of the necessity of a *visible universal church*, and of a visible centre or bond of union, has led many to adhere to the papacy, considered in this light, who look upon some of the principal and fundamental doctrines of the Romish church to be erroneous and extravagant. Such is the case of the learned and worthy Dr. Courrayer, whose upright fortitude in declaring his sentiments obliged him to seek an asylum in England; and who, notwithstanding his persuasion of the absurdities which abound in the church of Rome, has never totally separated himself from its communion. And such is known to be the case with many men of learning and piety in that church.

Thus it happens, that particular and accidental circumstances counteract, in favour of popery, the natural effects of improvements in learning and philosophy, which have their full and proper influence in protestant countries, where any thing that resembles these circumstances is directly in favour of the reformed religion.

But I beg that it may be attentively observed, in the *third place*, that notwithstanding all these particular and accidental obstacles to the progress of the reformation among men of knowledge and letters, the spirit of the reformation has, in fact, gained more ground than the ingenious author of the *confessional* seems to imagine. I think it must be allowed, that every branch of superstition that is retrenched from popery, and every portion of authority that is taken from its pontiff, is a real gain to the cause of the reformation; and though it does not render that cause absolutely triumphant, yet prepares the way for its progress and advancement. Now, in this point of view, I am persuaded it will appear that, for twenty or thirty years past, the reformation, or at least its spirit, has rather gained than lost ground in Roman Catholic states. In several countries, and more particularly in France, many of the gross abuses of popery have been corrected. We have seen the saintly *legend*, in many places, deprived of its fairest honours. We have seen a mortal blow given in France to the absolute power of the pope. What is still more surprising, we have seen, even in Spain and Portugal, strong

lines of a spirit of opposition to the pretended infallible ruler of the church. We have seen the very order, that has been always considered as the chief support of the papacy, the order of the jesuits, the fundamental characteristic of whose *institute* is an inviolable obligation to extend beyond all limits, the despotic authority of the Roman pontiffs; we have seen, I say, that order suppressed, banished, covered with deserved infamy, in three powerful kingdoms;^b and we see, at this moment, their credit declining in other Roman catholic states. We see, in several popish countries, and more especially in France, the holy scriptures more generally in the hands of the people than in former times. We have seen the senate of Venice, not many months ago, suppressing, by an express edict,^c the officers of the inquisition in all the small towns, reducing their power to a shadow in the larger cities, extending the liberty of the press; and all this in a steady opposition to the repeated remonstrances of the court of Rome. These, and many other facts that might be collected here, facts of a recent date, show that the essential spirit of popery, which is a spirit of unlimited despotism in the pretended head of the church, and a spirit of blind submission and superstition in its members, is rather losing than gaining ground, even in those countries that still profess the religion of Rome.

If this be the case, it would seem, indeed, very strange, that popery, which is losing ground at home, should be gaining it abroad, and acquiring new strength, as some imagine, even in protestant countries. This, at first sight, must appear a paradox of the most enormous size; and it is to be hoped that it will continue to appear such, upon the closest examination. While the spirit and vigour of popery are actually declining on the continent, I would fondly hope, that the apprehensions of some worthy persons, with respect to its progress in England, are without foundation. To account for the growth of popery, in an age of light, would be ineumbent upon me, if the *fact* were true. Until this fact be *proved*, I may be excused from undertaking such a task. The famous story of the *golden tooth*, that employed the laborious researches of physicians, chemists, and philosophers, stands upon record, as a warn-

^b France, Spain, and Portugal.

^c This edict was issued out in the month of February, 1767

ing to those who are over hasty to account for a thing which has no existence. My distance from England, during many years past, renders me, indeed, less capable of judging concerning the state of popery, than those who are upon the spot. I shall therefore confine myself to a few reflections upon this interesting subject.

When it is said that popery gains ground in England one of the two following things must be meant by this expression ; either that the spirit of the established and other reformed churches is leaning that way ; or that a number of individuals are made proselytes, by the seduction of popish emissaries, to the Romish communion. With respect to the established church, I think that a candid and accurate observer must vindicate it from the charge of a spirit of approximation to Rome. We do not live in the days of a Laud ; nor do his successors seem to have imbibed his spirit. I do not hear that the claims of church power are carried high in the present times, or that a spirit of intolerance characterizes the episcopal hierarchy. And though it were to be wished, that the case of subscription were to be made easier to good and learned men, whose scruples deserve indulgence, and were better accommodated to what is known to be the reigning theology among the episcopal clergy, yet it is straining matters too far to allege the demand of subscription as a proof that the established church is verging toward popery. As to the protestant dissenting churches in England and Ireland, they stand so avowedly clear of all imputations of this nature, that it is utterly unnecessary to vindicate them on this head. If any thing of this kind is to be apprehended from any quarter within the pale of the reformation, it is from the quarter of *fanaticism*, which, by discrediting free inquiry, crying down human learning, and encouraging those pretended *illuminations* and *impulses* which give *imagination* an undue ascendant in religion, lays weak minds open to the seductions of a church, which has always made its conquests by wild visions and false miracles, addressed to the passionate and fancies of men. Cry down reason, preach up implicit faith, extinguish the lamp of free inquiry, make inward *experience* the test of truth ; and then the main barriers against popery will be removed. Persons who follow this method possibly *may* continue protestants ; but there is no security against their

becoming papists, if the occasion is presented. Were they placed in a scene where artful priests and enthusiastic monks could play their engines of conversion, their protestant faith would be very likely to fail.

If by the supposed growth of popery be meant, the success of the Romish emissaries in making proselytes to their communion, here again the question turns upon a matter of fact, upon which I cannot venture to pronounce. There is no doubt but the Romish hierarchy carries on its operations under the shade of an indulgent connivance; and it is to be feared that its members are *wiser*, i. e. more artful and zealous, *in their generation, than the children of light*. The establishment of the protestant religion inspires, it is to be feared, an indolent security into the hearts of its friends. Ease and negligence are the fruits of prosperity; and this maxim extends even to religion. It is not unusual to see a victorious general sleep upon his laurels, and thus give advantage to an enemy, whom adversity renders vigilant. All good and true protestants will heartily wish that this were otherwise. They will be sincerely afflicted at any decline that may happen in the zeal and vigilance that ought ever to be employed against popery and popish emissaries, since they can never cease to consider popery as a system of wretched superstition and political despotism, and must particularly look upon popery in the British isles as pregnant with the principles of disaffection and rebellion, and as at invariable enmity with our religious liberty and our happy civil constitution. But still there is reason to hope, that popery makes very little progress, notwithstanding the apprehensions that have been entertained on this subject. The insidious publications of a Taafé and a Philips, who abuse the terms of charity, philanthropy, and humanity, in their flimsy apologies for a church whose *tender mercies* are known to be *cruel*, have alarmed many well meaning persons. But it is much more wise, as well as noble, to be vigilant and steady against the enemy, than to take the alarm at the smallest of his motions, and to fall into a panic, as if we were conscious of our weakness. Be that as it will, I return to my first principle, and am still persuaded, that the protestant church, and *its prevailing spirit*, are at this present time, as averse to popery, as they were at any period since the reformation, and that the thriving state of learning and philosophy is adapted to

confirm them in this well founded aversion. Should it even be granted, that proselytes to popery have been made among the *ignorant* and unwary, by the emissaries of Rome, this would by no means invalidate what I here maintain : though it may justly be considered as a powerful incentive to the zeal and vigilance of rulers, temporal and spiritual, of the pastors and people of the reformed churches, against the encroachments of Rome.

The author of the *Confessional* complains, and perhaps justly, of the bold and public appearance which popery has of late made in England. "The papists," says he, "strengthened and animated by an influx of *jesuits*, expelled even from popish countries, for crimes and practices of the worst complexion, open public mass houses, and affront the laws of this protestant kingdom in other respects, not without insulting some of those who endeavour to check their insolence. And we are told, with the utmost coolness and composure, that popish bishops go about here, and exercise every part of their function, *without offence*, and *without observation*." This is, indeed, a circumstance that the friends of reformation and religious liberty cannot behold without offence ; I say, the friends of religious liberty ; because the maintenance of all liberty, both civil and religious, depends on circumscribing popery within proper bounds ; since popery is not a system of *innocent* speculative opinions, but a yoke of despotism, an enormous mixture of princely and priestly tyranny, designed to enslave the consciences of mankind, and to destroy their most sacred and invaluable rights. But, at the same time, I do not think we can, from this public appearance of popery, rationally conclude that it gains ground ; much less, as the author of the *Confessional* suggests, *that the two hierarchies, i. e. the episcopal and the popish, are growing daily more and more into a resemblance of each other*. The natural reason of this bold appearance of popery is the spirit of toleration, that has been carried to a great height, and has rendered the execution of the laws against papists, in the time past, less rigorous and severe.

How it may be proper to act with regard to the growing insolence of popery, is a matter that must be left to the wisdom and clemency of government. Rigour against any thing that bears the name of a *religion*, gives pain to a candid and generous mind : and it is certainly more eligible

to extend *too far*, than to circumscribe too narrowly, the bounds of forbearance, and indulgent charity.

If the dangerous tendency of popery, considered as a pernicious system of policy, should be pleaded as a sufficient reason to except it from the indulgence due to *merely speculative* systems of theology; if the voice of history should be appealed to, as declaring the assassinations, rebellions, conspiracies, the horrid scenes of carnage and desolation, that popery has produced; if standing principles and maxims of the Roman church should be quoted, which authorize these enormities; if it should be alleged, finally, that popery is much more malignant and dangerous in Great Britain than in any other protestant country; I acknowledge that all these pleas against popery are well founded, and plead for modifications to the connivance which the clemency of government may think proper to grant to that unfriendly system of religion. All I wish is, that mercy and humanity may ever accompany the execution of justice; and that nothing like *merely religious* persecution may stain the British annals. And all I maintain with respect to the chief point under consideration is that the public appearance of popery, which is justly complained of, is no *certain* proof of its growth, but rather shows its indiscretion than its strength, and the declining vigour of *our* zeal than the growing influence of *its* maxims.

APPENDIX III.

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL AND EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE THAT WAS CARRIED ON IN THE YEAR 1717 AND 1718, BETWEEN DR. WILLIAM WAKE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND CERTAIN DOCTORS OF THE SORBONNE AT PARIS, RELATIVE TO A PROJECT OF UNION BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND GALRICAN CHURCHES.

———Magis amica veritas.

WHEN the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, laid an insidious snare for unthinking protestants, in his artful “Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome,” the pious and learned Dr. Wake unmasked this deceiver; and the writings he published on this occasion gave him a distinguished rank among the victorious champions of the protestant cause. Should any person, who had perused these writings, be informed, that this “pretended champion of the protestant religion, had set on foot a project for union with a popish church, and that with concessions in favour of the grossest superstition and idolatry,”^d he would be apt to stare; at least, he would require the strongest possible evidence for a fact, in all appearance, so contradictory and unaccountable. This accusation has, nevertheless, been brought against the eminent prelate, by the ingenious and intrepid author of the *Confessional*; and it is founded upon an extraordinary passage in Dr. Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History; where we are told, that Dr. Wake “formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.”^e This passage,

^d See the *Confessional*, 2d edition, Pref. p. lxxvi.

^e See the English Translation of Mosheim’s History, vol. ii. p. 576. Dr. Mosheim had certainly a very imperfect idea of this correspondence; and he seems to have been misled by the account of it, which Kiörningius has given in his Dissertation *De Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum*, published at Helmstadt in 1739; which account, notwithstanding the means of information its author seemed to have by his journey to England, and his conversations with Dr. Courayer, is full of mistakes. Thus Kiörningius tells us, that Dr. Wake submitted to the judgment of the Romish doctors, his correspondents, the conditions of peace between the two churches, which he had drawn up; that he sent a learned man, Dr. Wilkins, his chaplain, to Paris, to forward and complete, if possible, the projected union; that in a certain assembly, held at Paris, the difficulties of promoting this union without the pope’s concurrence were insisted

though it is, perhaps, too uncharitably interpreted by the author already mentioned, would furnish, without doubt, just matter of censure, were it founded in truth. I was both surprised and perplexed while I was translating it. I could not procure immediately proper information with respect to the fact, nor could I examine Mosheim's proofs of this strange assertion, because he alleged none. Destitute of materials, either to invalidate or confirm the fact, I made a slight mention, in a short note, of a correspondence which had been carried on between archbishop Wake and Dr. Du Pin, with the particulars of which I was not acquainted; and, in this my ignorance, only made a general observation, drawn from Dr. Wake's known zeal for the protestant religion, which was designed, not to confirm that assertion, but rather to insinuate my disbelief of it. It never could come into my head, that the interests of the protestant religion would have been safe in archbishop Wake's hands, had I given the smallest degree of credit to Dr. Mosheim's assertion, or even suspected that that eminent prelate was inclined to form a union between the "Eng-

upon by some men of high rank, who seemed inclined to the union, and that these difficulties put an end to the conferences; that, however, two French divines, whom he supposes to be Du Pin and Girardin, were sent to England to propose new terms.—It now happens unluckily for Mr. Kiorningius's reputation as an historian, that not one syllable of all this is true, as will appear sufficiently to the reader, who peruses with attention the account, and the pieces, which I here lay before the public. But one of the most egregious errors in the account given by Kiorningius, is at page 61 of his Dissertation, where he says, that archbishop Wake was so much elated with the prospect of success in the scheme of an accommodation, that he acquainted the divines of Geneva with it in 1719, and plainly intimated to them, that he thought it an easier thing than reconciling the protestants with each other. Let us now see where Kiorningius received this information. Why, truly, it was from a letter of Dr. Wake to professor Turretin of Geneva, in which there is not one syllable relative to a scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches; and yet Kiorningius quotes a passage in this letter as the only authority he has for this affirmation. The case was thus: Dr. Wake, in the former part of his letter to Turretin, speaks of the sufferings of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, which he had successfully endeavoured to alleviate, by engaging George I. to intercede in their behalf; and then proceeds to express his desire of healing the differences that disturbed the union of the protestant churches abroad. *Interim*, says he, *dum hæc, &c.* the endeavours to relieve the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, *feliciter peraguntur*, *ignoscite, Fratres Dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longe maximi nobis commodi inceptum vobis proponam*; *unionem nimirum, &c.* Professor Turretin, in his work, entitled, *Nubes Testium*, printed only the latter part of Dr. Wake's letter, beginning with the words, *Interim dum hæc feliciter, uti spero, peraguntur*; and Kiorningius, not having seen the preceding part of this letter, which relates to the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, and with which these words are connected, took it into his head that these words were relative to the scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches.—Nor did he only take this into his head by way of conjecture, but he affirms, very sturdily and positively, that the words have this signification: *Hæc verba*, says he, *tangunt pacem cum Gallis instaurandæ negotium, quod ex temporum rationibus, manifestum est.* To show him, however, that he is grossly mistaken, I have published, among the annexed pieces. No. xx. the whole Letter of archbishop Wake to Turretin.

lish and Gallican churches, founded on this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines."

If the author of the *Confessional* had given a little more attention to this, he could not have represented me, as confirming the fact alleged by Mosheim, much less as giving it, what he is pleased to call the *sanction* of my approbation. I did not confirm the fact; for I only said there was a correspondence on the subject, without speaking a syllable of the unpleasing *condition* that forms the charge against Dr. Wake. I shall not enter here into a debate about the grammatical import of my expressions; as I have something more interesting to present to the reader, who is curious of information about archbishop Wake's *real* conduct in relation to the correspondence already mentioned. I have been favoured with authentic copies of the letters which passed in this correspondence, which are now in the hands of Mr. Beauvoir of Canterbury, the worthy son of the clergyman who was chaplain to lord Stair in the year 1717, and also with others, from the valuable collection of manuscripts left by Dr. Wake to the library of Christ's Church College in Oxford. It is from these letters that I have drawn the following account, at the end of which copies of them are printed, to serve as proofs of the truth of this relation, which I publish with a disinterested regard to truth. This impartiality may be, in some measure, expected from my situation in life, which has placed me at a distance from the scenes of religious and ecclesiastical contention in England, and cut me off from those personal connexions, that nourish the prejudices of a party spirit, more than many are aware of; but it would be still more expected from my principles, were they known.

From this narrative, confirmed by authentic papers, it will appear with the utmost evidence;

1st. That archbishop Wake was not the *first mover* in this correspondence, nor the person that *formed the project of union* between the English and Gallican churches.

2dly. That he never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in order to promote this union.

3dly. That any desires of union with the church of Rome, expressed in the archbishop's letters, proceeded from the

hopes, well founded, or illusory, is not my business to examine here, that he at first entertained of a considerable reformation in that church, and from an expectation that its most absurd doctrines would fall to the ground, if they could once be deprived of their great support, the papal authority; the destruction of which authority was the very basis of this correspondence.

It will further appear, that Dr. Wake considered union in external worship, as one of the best methods of healing the uncharitable dissensions that are often occasioned by a variety of sentiments in point of doctrine, in which a perfect uniformity is not to be expected. This is undoubtedly a wise principle, when it is not carried too far; and whether or no it was carried too far by this eminent prelate, the candid reader is left to judge, from the following relation.

In the month of November, 1717, archbishop Wake wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, chaplain to the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, in which his grace acknowledges the receipt of several obliging letters from Mr. Beauvoir. This is manifestly the first letter which the prelate wrote to that gentleman, and the whole contents of it are matters of a literary nature.^f In answer to this letter, Mr. Beauvoir, in one dated the 11th of December, 1717, O. S.

^f The perusal of this letter, which the reader will find among the pieces here subjoined, No. I. is sufficient to remove the suspicions of the author of the Confessional, who seems inclined to believe, that archbishop Wake was the *first mover* in the project of uniting the English and Gallican churches. This author having mentioned Mr. Beauvoir's letter, in which Du Pin's desire of this union is communicated to the archbishop, asks the following question; *Can any man be certain that Beauvoir mentioned this merely out of his own head, and without some previous occasion given, in the archbishop's letter to him, for such a conversation with the Sorbonne doctors?** I answer to this question, that every one who reads the archbishop's letter of the 28th of November, to which this letter of Mr. Beauvoir's is an answer, may be very certain that Dr. Wake's letter did not give Mr. Beauvoir the *least* occasion for *such a conversation*, but relates entirely to the benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom, Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, and Moreri's Dictionary. But, says our author, *there is an &c. in this copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, very suspiciously placed, as if to cover something improper to be disclosed.*† But really if any thing was covered here, it was covered from the archbishop as well as from the public. since the very same &c. that we see in the printed copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, stands in the original. Besides, I would be glad to know, what there is in the placing of this &c. that can give rise to suspicion? The passage of Beauvoir's letter runs thus; *They, the Sorbonne doctors, talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future General Council, &c. They wished for a union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the Western churches.* It is palpably evident, that the &c. here has not the least relation to the union in question, and gives no sort of reason to suspect any thing but the spirit of discontentment, which the insolent proceedings of the court of Rome had excited among the French divines.

* See the 2d edition of the *Confessional*, Pref. p. lxxviii. Note W.

† The other reflections that the author has there made upon the correspondence between archbishop Wake and the doctors of the Sorbonne, are examined in the following note.

gives the archbishop the information he desired, about the method of subscribing to a new edition of St. Chrysostom, which was, at that time, in the press at Paris, and then mentions his having dined with Du Pin, and three other doctors of the Sorbonne, who talked as if the whole kingdom of France was to appeal, in the affair of the Bull Unigenitus, to a future general council, and who "wished for an union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches." Mr. Beauvoir adds, that Dr. Du Pin had desired him to give his duty to the archbishop.³ Here we see the first hint, the very first overture that was made relative to a project of union between the English and Gallican churches; and this hint comes *originally* from the doctors of the Sorbonne, and is not at all occasioned by any thing contained in preceding letters from archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, since the one only letter, which Mr. Beauvoir had hitherto received from that eminent prelate, was entirely taken up in inquiries about some new editions of books that were then publishing at Paris.

Upon this the archbishop wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in which he makes honourable mention of Du Pin as an author of merit; and expresses his desire of serving him, with that benevolent politeness which reigns in our learned prelate's letters, and seems to have been a striking line in his amiable character.⁴ Dr. Du Pin improved this

³ See the Letters subjoined, No. II.

⁴ This *handsome mention* of Dr. Du Pin, made by the archbishop, gives new subject of suspicion to the author of the *Confessional*. He had learned the fact from the article Wake, in the *Biographia Britannica*; but, says he, *we are left to guess what this handsome mention was; had the biographer given us this letter, together with that of November 27, they might probably, (it would have been more accurate to have said positively) have discovered what the biographer did not want we should know, namely, the share Dr. Wake had in forming the project of an union between the two churches.** This is guessing with a witness; and it is hard to imagine how the boldest calculator of probabilities could conclude from Dr. Wake's *handsome mention* of Dr. Du Pin, that the former had a *share*, of any kind, in *forming* the project of union now under consideration. But the ingenious guesser happens to be quite mistaken in his conjecture; and I hope to convince him of this, by satisfying his desire. He desires the letter of the 27th, or rather the 28th, of November; I have referred to it in the preceding note, and he may read it at the end of this account.† He desires the letter in which *handsome mention* is made of Du Pin; and I can assure him, that in that letter there is not a single syllable relative to an union. The passage that regards Dr. Du Pin is as follows; *I am much obliged to you,* says Dr. Wake, *in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated January 2, 1717-18, for making my name known to Dr. Du Pin. He is a gentleman by whose labours I have profited these many years. And I do really admire how it is possible for one man to publish so much, and yet so correctly, as he has generally done. I desire my respects to him; and that if there be any thing here whereby I may be serviceable to him, he will freely commend me.* Such was the archbishop's handsome mention of Du Pin:

^{*} *Confessional*, 2d. edit. Pref. p. lxxviii.

[†] No. I.

favourable occasion of writing to the archbishop a letter of thanks, dated January 31, (February 11,) 1717-18;

and it evidently shows that, till then, there never had been any communication between them. Yet these are all the proofs which the author of the *Confessional* gives of the probability that the archbishop was the first mover in this affair.

But his grace accepted the party, a formal treaty commences, and is carried on in a correspondence of some length, &c. says the author of the *Confessional*. And I would candidly ask that author, upon what principles of Christianity, reason, or charity, Dr. Wake could have refused to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments, of the Sorbonne doctors, who discovered an inclination to unite with his church? The author of the *Confessional* says elsewhere, that it was, at the best officious and presumptuous in Dr. Wake to enter into a negotiation of this nature without authority from the church or the government.* But the truth is, that he entered into no negotiation or treaty on this head; he considered the letters that were written on both sides as a personal correspondence between individuals, which could not commence a negotiation, until they had received the proper powers from their respective sovereigns. And I do think the archbishop was greatly in the right to enter into this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, in the then circumstances of the Gallican church, to serve the protestant interest, and the cause of reformation. If, indeed, in the course of this correspondence, Dr. Wake had discovered any thing like what Mosheim imputes to him, even a disposition toward an union, founded upon the condition that each of the two churches should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines, I should think his conduct liable to censure. But no such thing appears in the archbishop's letters, which I have subjoined to this account, that the candid examiner may receive full satisfaction in this affair. Mosheim's mistake is palpable, and the author of the *Confessional* seems certainly to have been too hasty in adopting it. He alleges, that the archbishop might have maintained the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the church of England, and yet give up some of them for the sake of peace.† But the archbishop expressly declares in his letters, that he would give up none of them, and that though he was a friend to peace, he was still a greater friend to truth. The author's reflection, that without some concessions on the part of the archbishop, the treaty could not have gone a step farther, may be questioned in theory; for treaties are often carried on for a long time without concessions on both sides, or perhaps on either; and the archbishop might hope, that Du Pin, who had yielded several things, would still yield more; but this reflection is overturned by the plain fact. Besides, I repeat what I have already insinuated, that this correspondence does not deserve the name of a treaty.* Proposals were made only on Du Pin's side; and these proposals were positively rejected by the archbishop, in his letters to Mr. Beauvoir. Nor did he propose any thing in return to either of the Sorbonne doctors, but that they should entirely renounce the authority of the pope, hoping, though perhaps too fancifully, that when this was done, the two churches might come to an agreement about other matters, as far as was necessary. But the author of the *Confessional* supposes that the archbishop must have made some concessions; because the letters on both sides were sent to Rome, and received there as so many trophies gained from the enemies of the church. This supposition, however, is somewhat hasty. Could nothing but concessions from the archbishop make the court of Rome consider them in that light? Would they not think it a great triumph, that they had obliged Du Pin's party to give up the letters as a token of their submission, and defeated the archbishop's design of engaging the Gallican church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the papal yoke? If Dr. Wake made concessions, where are they? And if these were the trophies, why did not the partisans of Rome publish authentic copies of them to the world? And the author of the *Confessional* ever hear of a victorious general, who carefully hid under ground the standards he had taken from the enemy? This, indeed, is a new method of dealing with trophies. Our author, however, does not, as yet, quit his hold, he alleges that the French divines could not have acknowledged the catholic benevolence of the archbishop, if he made no concessions to them. This reasoning would be plausible, if charity toward those that err, consisted in embracing their errors; but this is a definition of charity, that, I fancy, the ingenious author will give up, upon second thoughts. Dr. Wake's catholic benevolence consisted in his esteem for the merit and learning of his correspondents, in his compassion for their servitude and their errors, in his desire of the reformation and liberty of their church, and his propensity to live in friendship

* Id. i. p. lxxv.

Id. i. p. lxxv.

See below, note 11 and 12. 1717-18. 1718-19. 1719-20.

in which, toward the conclusion, he intimates his desire of an union between the English and Gallican churches, and observes, that the difference, in most points, between them, was not so great as to render a reconciliation impracticable; and that it was his earnest wish, that all christians were united in one sheepfold. His words are; “*Unum addam cum bona venia tua, me vehementer optare, ut unionis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam ineundæ via aliqua inveniri posset: non ita sumus ab invicem in plerisque dissiti, ut non possimus mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam christiani omnes essent unum ovile.*” The archbishop wrote an answer to this letter, dated February 13-24, 1717-18, in which he asserts, at large, the purity of the church of England, in faith, worship, government, and discipline, and tells his correspondent, that he is persuaded that there are few things in the doctrine and constitution of that church, which even he himself, Du Pin, would desire to see changed; the original words are; “*Aut ego vehementer fallor, aut in ea pauca admodum sunt, quæ vel tu — immutanda velles; and again, Sincere judica, quid in hac nostra Ecclesia invenias, quod jure damnari debeat, aut nos atra hereticorum, vel etiam schismaticorum nota inurere.*” The zeal of the venerable prelate goes still farther; and the moderate sentiments which he observed in Dr. Du Pin's letter induced him to exhort the French to maintain, if not to enlarge, the rights and privileges of the Gallican church, for which the present disputes, about the constitution *Unigenitus*, furnish the most favourable occasion. He also expresses his readiness to concur in improving any opportunity, that might be offered by these debates, to form a union; that might be productive of a further reformation, in which not only the most rational protestants, but also a considerable number of the Roman catholic churches should join with the church of England: “*si exhinc,*” says the archbishop, speaking concerning the commotions excited by the constitution, “*aliquid amplius elici possit ad unionem nobiscum Ecclesiasticam ineundam; unde forte nova quædam reformatio exoriat in quam non solum ex protestantibus optimi quique, verum etiam pars magna ecclesiarum communionis Romano catholicæ una nobiscum convenient.*”

and concord, as far as was possible, with all that bear the christian name. And this disposition, so suitable to the benevolent genius of Christianity, will always reflect a true and solid glory upon his character as a christian bishop.

Hitherto we see, that the expressions of the two learned doctors of the English and Gallican churches, relating to the union under consideration, are of a vague and general nature. When they were thus far advanced in their correspondence, an event happened, which rendered it more close, serious, and interesting, and even brought on some particular mention of preliminary terms, and certain preparatives for a future negotiation. The event I mean, was a discourse delivered, in an extraordinary meeting of the Sorbonne, March 17-28, 1717-18, by Dr. Patrick Piers de Girardin, in which he exhorts the doctors of that society to proceed in their design of revising the doctrines and rules of the church, to separate things necessary from those which are not so, by which they will show the church of England that they do not hold every *decision* of the pope for an *article of faith*. The learned orator observes farther, upon what foundation it is difficult to guess, that the English church may be more easily reconciled than the Greek was; and that the disputes between the Gallican church and the court of Rome, removing the apprehensions of papal tyranny, which terrified the English from the catholic communion, will lead them back into the bosom of the church, with greater celerity than they formerly fled from it: “Facient,” says he, “profecto offensiones, quæ vos inter et Senatum Capitolinum videntur intervenisse, ut Angli, deposito servitutis metu, in ecclesiæ gremium revolent alacrius, quam olim inde, quorundam exosi tyrannidem, avolarunt. Meministis ortas inter Paulum et Barnabam dissensiones animorum tandem eo recidisce, ut singuli propagandæ in diversis regionibus Fidei feliciter insudaverunt sigillatim, quam junctis viribus fortasse insudassent.” This last sentence, in which Dr. Girardin observes, that Paul and Barnabas probably made more converts in consequence of their separation, than they would have done had they travelled together and acted in concert, is not a little remarkable; and, indeed, the whole passage discovers rather a desire of making proselytes, than an inclination to form a coalition founded upon concessions and some reformation on the side of popery. It may, perhaps, be alleged, in opposition to this remark, that prudence required a language of this kind, in the infancy of a project of

union, whatever concessions might be offered afterward to bring about its execution. And this may be true.

After the delivery of this discourse in the Sorbonne, Dr. Du Pin showed to Girardin, archbishop Wake's letter, which was also communicated to cardinal De Noailles who admired it greatly, as appears by a letter of Dr. Piers de Girardin to Dr. Wake, written, I believe, April 18-29, 1718. Before the arrival of this letter, the archbishop had received a second from Dr. Du Pin, and also a copy of Girardin's discourse. But he does not seem to have entertained any notion, in consequence of all this, that the projected union would go on smoothly. On the contrary, he no sooner received these letters, than he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, April 15, 1718, that it was his opinion, that neither the regent nor the cardinal would ever come to a rupture with the court of Rome; and that nothing could be done, in point of doctrine, until this rupture was brought about. He added, that *fundamentals* should be distinguished from matters of lesser moment, in which differences or errors might be tolerated. He expresses a curiosity to know the reception which his former letter to Dupin had met with; and he wrote again to that ecclesiastic, and also to Girardin, May 1, 1718, and sent both his letters toward the end of that month.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, whether they were set in motion by the real desire of an union with the English church, or only intended to make use of this union as a means of intimidating the court of Rome, began to form a plan of reconciliation, and to specify the terms upon which they were willing to bring it into execution. Mr. Beauvoir acquaints the archbishop, July 16, probably N. S. 1718, that Dr. Du Pin had made a rough draught of an essay toward an union, which cardinal De Noailles desired to peruse before it was sent to his Grace; and that both Du Pin and Girardin were highly pleased with his Grace's letters to them. These letters, however, were written with a truly protestant spirit; the archbishop insisted, in them, upon the truth and orthodoxy of the articles of the church of England, and did not make any concession, which supposed the least approximation to the peculiar doctrines, or the smallest approbation of the ambitious pretensions, of the church of Rome; he observed, on the contrary, that it was now the time for Dr. Du Pin, and his brethren of

the Sorbonne, to declare openly their true sentiments, with respect to the superstition and tyranny of that church; that it was the interest of all christians to unmask that court, and to reduce its authority to its primitive limits; and that, according to the fundamental principle of the Reformation in general, and of the church of England in particular, Jesus Christ is the only founder, source, and head of the church. Accordingly, when Mr. Beauvoir had acquainted the archbishop with Du Pin's having formed a plan of union, his grace answered in a manner which showed that he looked upon the removal of the Gallican church from the jurisdiction of Rome as an essential preliminary article, without which no negotiation could even be commenced. "To speak freely, says the prelate, in his letter of the 11th of August, to Mr. Beauvoir, I do not think the regent, the duke of Orleans, yet strong enough in his interest, to adventure at a separation from the court of Rome. Could the Regent openly appear in this, the divines would follow, and a scheme might fairly be offered for such an union, as alone is requisite, between the English and Gallican church. But, till the time comes when the state will enter into such a work, all the rest is mere speculation. It may amuse a few contemplative men of learning and probity, who see the errors of the church, and groan under the tyranny of the court of Rome. It may dispose them secretly to wish well to us, and think charitably of us; but still they must call themselves catholics, and us heretics; and, to all outward appearance, say mass, and act so as they have been wont to do. If, under the shelter of Gallican privileges, they can now and then serve the state, by speaking big in the Sorbonne, they will do it heartily; but that is all, if I am not greatly mistaken."

Soon after this, the archbishop received Du Pin's *commonitorium*, or advice relating to the method of reuniting the English and Gallican churches; of the contents of which it will not be improper to give here a compendious account, as it was read in the Sorbonne, and was approved of there, and as the concessions it contains, though not sufficient to satisfy a true protestant, are yet such as one would not expect from a very zealous papist. Dr. Du Pin, after some reflections, in a tedious preface, on the reformation, and the present state of the church of England, reduces the controversy between the two churches to three

heads, viz. *articles of faith, rules and ceremonies of ecclesiastical discipline, and moral doctrine, or rules of practice*; and these he treats, by entering into an examination of the xxxix articles of the church of England. The first five of these articles he approves. With regard to the vith, which affirms that *the scripture contains all things necessary to salvation*, he expresses himself thus: "This we will readily grant, provided that you do not entirely exclude *tradition*, which doth not exhibit new articles of faith, but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the sacred writings, and places about them new guards to defend them against gainsayers," &c.ⁱ The doctor thinks that the *Apocryphal Books* will not occasion much difficulty. He is, indeed, of opinion, that "they ought to be deemed *canonical*, as those books concerning which there were doubts for some time; yet, since they are not in the first, or Jewish canon, he will allow them to be called *Deuterocanonical*. He consents to the xth article, which relates to *free-will*, provided by the word *power* he understood what school divines call *potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power, since without a *remote* power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed.

With respect to the xith article, which contains the doctrine of *justification*, Dr. Du Pin expresses thus the sentiments of his brethren; "We do not deny that it is by faith alone that we are justified, but we maintain that faith, charity, and good works, are necessary to salvation; and this is acknowledged in the following, i. e. the xiith article."^k

Concerning the xiiith article, the doctor observes, "that there will be no dispute, since many divines of both communions embrace the doctrine contained in that article," viz. *that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God, and have the nature of sin*. He indeed thinks "it very harsh to say, that all those actions are sinful which have not the grace of Christ for their source;" but

ⁱ The original words are; "Hoc labenter admitemus, modo non excludatur *Traditio*, quæ Articulos Fidei novos non exhibet, sed confirmat et explicat eos, quæ in Sacris Literis habentur; ac adversus aliter sapientes munit eos novis cautionibus, ita ut non nova dicantur, sed antiqua nove."

^k The original words are; "Fide sola in Christum nos justificari, quod Articulo *Ximo* exponitur, non inficiamur; sed fide, charitate, et adjunctis bonis operibus, quæ omnino necessaria sunt ad salutem, ut articulo sequenti agnoscitur."

he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion.¹

On the xivth article, relating to works of *supererogation*, undoubtedly one of the most absurd and pernicious doctrines of the Romish church, Dr. Du Pin observes, that “works of *supererogation*, mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matter of strict *precept*, but of *counsel* only; that the word, being new, may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works.”

The doctor makes no objections to the xv, xvi, xvii, and xviiith articles.

His observation on the xixth is, that, to the definition of the church, the words, *under lawful pastors*, ought to be added; and that though all particular churches, even that of *Rome*, may err, it is *needless* to say this in a Confession of Faith.

He consents to the decision of the xxth article, which refuses to the church the power of ordaining any thing that is contrary to the word of God; but he says, it must be taken for granted, that the church will never do this in matters which *overturn essential points of faith*, or, to use his own words, *quæ fidei substantium evertant*.

It is in consequence of this notion that he remarks, on the xxist article, that general councils, received by the universal church, cannot err; and that, though particular councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture.

As to the important points of controversy contained in the xxiind article, the doctor endeavours to mince matters as nicely as he can, to see if he can make the *cable* pass through the *eye of the needle*; and for this purpose observes, that souls must be *purged*, i. e. purified from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the church of *Rome* doth not affirm this to be done by fire; that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that the Roman catholics do not worship the cross, nor relics, nor images, nor even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect, which is not of a religious nature; and

¹ De Articulo XIII^{mo} nulla lis erit, cum multi theologi in eadem versentur sententia. Durius videtur id dici, eas omnes actiones quæ ex gratia Christi non sunt, esse peccata. Nolim tamen de hacre desceptari, nisi inter theologos.

that even this external demonstration of respect is a matter of indifference, which may be laid aside or retained without harm.

He approves of the xxiii^d article, and does not pretend to dispute about the xxivth, which ordains the celebration of divine worship in the vulgar tongue. He, indeed, excuses the *Latin* and *Greek* churches for preserving their ancient languages; alleges, that great care has been taken that every thing be understood by translations; but allows, that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary.

Under the xxvth article he insists, that the *five* Romish sacraments be acknowledged as such, whether instituted immediately by Christ or not.

He approves of the xxvith and xxviith articles; and he proposes expressing that part of the xxviiith that relates to *transubstantiation*, which term he is willing to omit entirely, in the following manner; "that the bread and wine are really changed into the body and blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful partake of any benefit from them." This extends also to the xxixth article.

Concerning the xxx, he is for mutual toleration, and would have the receiving the communion *in both kinds* held indifferent, and liberty left to each church to preserve, or change, or dispense, on certain occasions, with its customs.

He is less inclined to concessions on the xxxist article, and maintains that the Sacrifice of Christ is not only *commemorated*, but *continued*, in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with the priest.

He is not a warm stickler for the celibacy of the clergy, but consents so far to the xxxii^d article, as to allow that priests may marry, where the laws of the church do not prohibit it.

In the xxxiii^d and xxxivth articles he acquiesces without exception.

He suspends his judgment with respect to the xxxvth, as he never perused the homilies mentioned therein.

As to the xxxvith, he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them, perhaps, are so; but thinks that, if an union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices,

either by right or indulgence, *sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia Ecclesiæ*.

He admits the xxxviith, so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the pope; but alleges, that, by virtue of his primacy, which moderate, he ought to have said *immoderate*, church of England men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained; that the canons be observed every where; and, when any thing is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed for such disorders by the canon laws, *secundum leges canonicas ut malum resarciatur, procurare*. As to the rest, he is of opinion, that every church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges, which the pope has no right to infringe. He declares against going *too far*; the expression is vague, but the man probably meant well; in the punishment of heretics, against admitting the inquisition into France, and against war without a just cause.

The xxxviiith and xxxixth articles he approves. Moreover, in the discipline and worship of the church of England, he sees nothing amiss; and thinks no attempts should be made to discover, or prove, by whose fault the schism was begun. He further observes, "that an union between the English and French bishops and clergy may be completed, or at least advanced, without consulting the Roman pontiff, who may be informed of the union as soon as it is accomplished, and may be desired to consent to it; that, if he consents to it, the affair will then be finished; and that, even without his consent, the union shall be valid; that, in case he attempts to terrify by his threats, it will then be expedient to appeal to a general council."^m He concludes by observing, "that this arduous matter must first be discussed between a few; and if there be reason to hope that the bishops, on both sides, will agree about the terms of the designed union, that then application must be made to the civil powers, to advance and confirm the work," to which he wishes all success.

It is from the effect which these proposals and terms made upon archbishop Wake, that it will be most natural

^m Unio fieri potest aut saltem promoveri, inconsulto Pontifice, qui, facta unione, de ea admonëbitur, ac suppliciter rogabitur, ut velit ei consentire. Si consentiet, jam peracta res erit; sin abnuat, nihilominus valebit hæc unio. It si minas intenet, ad Concilium Generale appellabitur

to form a notion of his sentiments with respect to the church of Rome. It appears evident, from several passages in the writings and letters of this eminent prelate, that he was persuaded that a reformation in the church of Rome could only be made gradually; that it was not probable that they would renounce all their follies at once; but that, if they once began to make concessions, this would set in motion the work of reformation, which in all likelihood, would receive new accessions of vigour, and go on until a happy change were effected. This way of thinking might have led the archbishop to give an indulgent reception to these proposals of Du Pin, which contained some concessions, and might be an introduction to more. And yet we find that Dr. Wake rejected this peace, as insufficient to serve as a basis; or ground work, to the desired union. On receiving the peace, he immediately perceived that he had not sufficient ground for carrying on this negotiation, without previously consulting his brethren, and obtaining a permission from the king for this purpose. Besides this, he was resolved not to submit either to the direction of Dr. Du Pin, nor to that of the Sorbonne, in relation to what was to be retained, or what was to be given up, in the doctrine and discipline of the two churches; nor to treat with the church of Rome upon any other footing, than that of a perfect equality in point of authority and power. He declared more especially, that he would never comply with the proposals made in Dr. Du Pin's *Commonitorium*, of which I have now given the contents: observing that, though he was a friend to peace, he was still more a friend to truth; and that, *unless the Roman catholics gave up some of their doctrines and rites*, an union with them could never be effected. All this is contained in a letter written by the Archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, on receiving Du Pin's *Commonitorium*. This letter is dated August 30, 1718, and the reader will find a copy of it subjoined to this Appendix.^a About a month after, his Grace wrote a letter to Dr. Du Pin, dated October 1, 1718, in which he complains of the tyranny of the pope, exhorts the Gallican doctors to throw off the papal yoke in a national council, since a *general* one is not to be expected; and declares, that this must be the great preliminary and fundamental principle of the projected union, which being

^a See this Letter, No. III.

settled, an uniformity might be brought about in other matters, or a diversity of sentiments mutually allowed, without any violation of peace or concord. The archbishop commends, in the same letter, the candour and openness that reigns in the *Commonitorium*; entreats Dr. Du Pin to write to him always upon the same footing, freely and without disguise and reserve; and tells him, he is pleased with several things in that piece, and with nothing more than with the doctor's declaring it as his opinion, that there is not a great difference between their respective sentiments; but adds, that he cannot at present give his sentiments at large concerning that piece.^o

Dr. Wake seems to have aimed principally, in this correspondence, at bringing about a separation between the Gallican church and the court of Rome. The terms in which the French divines often spoke about the liberties of their church, might give him some hope that this separation would take place, if ever these divines were countenanced by the civil power of France. But a man of the archbishop's sagacity could not expect that they would enter into an union with any other national church *all at once*. He acted, therefore, with dignity, as well as with prudence, when he declined to explain himself on the proposals contained in Du Pin's *Commonitorium*. To have answered ambiguously, would have been mean; and to have answered explicitly, would have blasted his hopes of separating them from Rome, which separation he desired upon the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, independent on the discussion of theological tenets. The archbishop's sentiments in this matter will still appear farther from the letters he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, in the months of October, November, and December. 1718, and the January following, of which the proper extracts are here subjoined.^p It appears from these letters that Dr. Wake insisted still upon the abolition of the pope's jurisdiction over the Gallican church, and leaving him no more than a "primacy of rank and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city;" to which empty title our prelate seems willing to have consented, provided it was attended with no infringe-

^o See this letter to Du Pin, No. V, as also the archbishop's letter to Dr. P. Piers de Girardin, No. VI.

^p See No. IV, V II, VIII, IX, X.

ment of the independency and privileges of each particular country, and each particular church. “*Si quam prærogativam,*” says the archbishop in his letter to Girardin,[†] after having defied the court of Rome to produce any precept of Christ in favour of the primacy of its bishop, “*ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis episcopo concesserint, etsi cadente imperio etiam ea prerogativa excidisse merito possit censeri, tamen, quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur qualicumque Primatu: non ego illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum invidео.* At in alias ecclesias dominari, &c. hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis.”

It appears farther, from these letters, that any proposals or terms conceived by the archbishop, in relation to this project of union, were of a vague and general nature, and that his views terminated rather in a plan of mutual toleration, than in a scheme for effectuating an entire uniformity. The scheme that seemed to his Grace the most likely to succeed, was, that “the independency of every national church, or any other, and its right to determine all matters that arise within itself, should be acknowledged on both sides; that, for points of doctrine, they should agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment, as in effect the two churches either already did, or easily might; and in other matters, that a difference should be allowed until God should bring them to an union in them also.”[‡] It must be, however, though the expression is still general, that the archbishop was for “purging out of the public offices of the church all such things as hinder a perfect communion in divine service, so that persons coming from one church to the other might join in prayers, and the holy sacrament, and the public service.”[§] He was persuaded, that, in the liturgy of the church of England, there was nothing but what the Roman catholics would adopt, except the single Rubric relating to the eucharist; and that in the Romish liturgy there was nothing to which Protestants object, but what the more rational Romanists agree might be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the

† No. VI.

‡ See the pieces subjoined to this Appendix. No. VIII.

§ Ibid. id.

worse, or more imperfect, for the want of it. He therefore thought it proper to make the demands already mentioned the ground work of the project of union, at the beginning of the negotiation ; not that he meant to stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, they might the more easily go farther, descend to particulars, and render their scheme more perfect by degrees.¹

The violent measures of the court of Rome against that part of the Gallican church which refused to admit the constitution *Unigenitus* as an ecclesiastical law, made the archbishop imagine that it would be no difficult matter to bring this opposition to an open rupture, and to engage the persons concerned in it to throw off the papal yoke, which seemed to be borne with impatience in France. The despotic bull of Clement XI. dated August 28, 1718, and which begins with the words, *Pastoralis officii*, was a formal act of excommunication, thundered out against all the *anti-constitutionists*, as the opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* were called ; and it exasperated the doctors of the *Sorbonne* in the highest degree. It is to this that the archbishop alludes, when he says, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated the 23^d of January, 1718,² “ At present he, the pope, has put them out of his communion. We have withdrawn ourselves from his ; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies.” But the wished for separation from the court of Rome, notwithstanding all the provocations of its pontiff, was still far off. Though, on numberless occasions, the French divines showed very little respect for the papal authority, yet the renouncing it altogether was a step, which required deep deliberation, and which, however inclined they might be to it, they could not make, if they were not seconded by the state. But from the state they were not likely to have any countenance. The regent of France was governed by the abbe Du Bois, and the abbe Du Bois was aspiring eagerly after a cardinal’s cap. This circumstance, not more unimportant than many secret connexions and trivial views that daily influence the course of public events, the transactions of government, and the fate of nations, was sufficient to stop the *Sorbonne* and its doctors in the midst of their career ; and in effect, it contributed greatly

¹ Ibid. id.² See the letters subjoined. No. X

to stop the correspondence of which I have been now giving an account, and to nip the project of union in the bud.

The correspondence between the archbishop and the two doctors of the Sorbonne had been carried on with a high degree of secrecy. This secrecy was prudent, as neither of the corresponding parties was authorized by the civil powers to negotiate an union between the two churches;^y and, on Dr. Wake's part, it was partly owing to his having nobody that he could trust with what he did. He was satisfied, as he says in a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, "that most of the high church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design; but these, adds his grace, are not men either to be confided in, or made use of, by me."^z

The correspondence, however, was divulged; and the project of union engrossed the whole conversation of the city of Paris. Lord Stanhope and lord Stair were congratulated thereupon by some great personages in the royal palace. The duke Regent himself, and abbe Du Bois, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Joli De Fleury, the attorney general, gave the line at first, appeared to favour the correspondence and the project, and let things run on to certain lengths. But the Jesuits and *Constitutioners* sounded the alarm, and overturned the whole scheme, by spreading a report, that cardinal De Noailles, and his friends, the Jansenists, were upon the point of making a coalition with the heretics. Hereupon the regent was intimidated, and Du Bois had an opportunity of appearing a meritorious candidate for a place in the sacred college. Dr. Piers Girardin was sent for to court, was severely reprimanded by Du Bois, and strictly charged, upon pain of being sent to the Bastile, to give up all the letters he had received from the archbishop of Canterbury, as also a copy of all his own. The doctor was forced to obey; and all the letters were immediately sent to Rome, *as so many tro-*

^y Dr. Wake seems to have been sensible of the impropriety of carrying on a negotiation of this nature without the approbation and countenance of government. "I have always," says he, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, which the reader will find at the end of this appendix, No. XI. "took it for granted, that no step should be taken toward an union, but with the knowledge, approbation, and even by the authority of civil powers. All, therefore, that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any exception as to the civil magistrate. It is only a consultation, in order to find out a way how an union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered."

^z See the letters subjoined. No. IX.

phies, says a certain author, *gained from the enemies of the church.*^a The archbishop's letters were greatly admired, as striking proofs both of his catholic benevolence and extensive abilities.

Mr. Beauvoir informed the archbishop, by a letter dated February 8, 1719, N. S. that Dr. Du Pin had been summoned, by the abbe Du Bois, to give an account of what had passed between him and Dr. Wake. This step naturally suspended the correspondence, though the archbishop was at a loss, at first, whether he should look upon it as favourable, or detrimental, to the projected union.^b The letters which he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir and Dr. Du Pin after this, express the same sentiments which he discovered through the whole of this transaction.^c The letter to Dr. Du Pin, more especially, is full of a pacific and reconciling spirit; and expresses the archbishop's desire of cultivating fraternal charity, with the doctors, and his regret at the ill success of their endeavours toward the projected union. Du Pin died before this letter, which was retarded by some accident, arrived at Paris.^d Before the archbishop had heard of his death, he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, to express his concern that an account was going to be published of what had passed between the two doctors and himself; and his hope, "that they would keep in generals, as the only way to renew the good design, if occasion should serve, and to prevent themselves trouble from the reflections of their enemies," on account, as the archbishop undoubtedly means, of the concessions they had made, which, though insufficient to satisfy true protestants, were adapted to exasperate bigoted papists. The prelate adds, in the conclusion of this letter, "I shall be glad to know that your doctors still continue their good opinion of us. For, though we need not the approbation of men on our own account; yet I cannot but wish it as a means to bring them, if not to a perfect agreement in all things with us, which is not presently to be expected, yet to such an union as may put an end to the odious charges against, and conse-

^a These *trophies* were the defeat of the moderate part of the Gallican church, and the ruin of their project to break the papal yoke and unite with the church of England. See above, note *b*, page 65, where the conclusion which the author of the Confessional has drawn from this expression is shown to be groundless.

^b See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in the pieces subjoined, No. XI. dated February 5, 1718-19, O. S. that is, February 16, 1719, N. S.

^c See *ibid.* No. XI.—XVIII.

^d See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, No. XV.

quential aversion of us, as heretics and schismatics, and, in truth, make them cease to be so."

Dr. Du Pin, whom the archbishop very sincerely lamented, as the only man, after Mr. Ravechet, on whom the *hopes of a reformation* in France seemed to depend, left behind him an account of this famous correspondence. Some time before he died, he showed it to Mr. Beauvoir, and told him, that he intended to communicate it to a very great man, probably the regent. Mr. Beauvoir observed to the doctor, that one would be led to imagine, from the manner in which this account was drawn up, that the archbishop made the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, and was the first who intimated his desire of the union; whereas it was palpably evident that he, Dr. Du Pin, had first solicited the one and the other. Du Pin, acknowledged this freely and candidly, and promised to rectify it, but was prevented by death.

It does not, however, appear that Du Pin's death put a final stop to the correspondence; for we learn by a letter from the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, dated August 27, 1719, that Dr. Piers Girardin frequently wrote to his Grace. But the opportunity was past; the *appellants* from the bull *Unigenitus*, or the anticonstitutionists, were divided; the court did not smile at all upon the project, because the regent was afraid of the Spanish party and the Jesuits; and therefore the continuation of this correspondence after Du Pin's death was without effect.

Let the reader now, after having perused this historical account, judge of the appearance which Dr. Wake makes in this transaction. An impartial reader will certainly draw from this whole correspondence the following conclusions: That archbishop Wake was invited to this correspondence by Dr. Du Pin, the most moderate of all the Roman catholic divines; that he entered into it with a view to improve one of the most favourable opportunities that could be offered, of withdrawing the church of France from the jurisdiction of the pope, a circumstance which must have immediately weakened the power of the court of Rome; and, in its consequences, offered a fair prospect of a farther reformation in doctrine and worship, as the case happened in the church of England, when it happily threw off the papal yoke; that he did not give Du Pin, or any of the doctors of the Sorbonne, the smallest

reason to hope that the church of England would give up any one point of belief or practice to the church of France; but insisted, on the contrary, that the latter should make alterations and concessions, in order to be reconciled to the former; that he never specified the particular alterations, which would be requisite to satisfy the rulers and doctors of the church of England; but only expressed a general desire of an union between the two churches, if that were possible, or at least of a mutual toleration of each other; that he never flattered himself that this union could be perfectly accomplished, or that the doctors of the Gallican church, would be entirely brought over to the church of England; but thought, that every advance made by them, and every concession, must have proved really advantageous to the protestant cause.

The pacific spirit of Dr. Wake did not only discover itself in his correspondence with the Romish doctors, but in several other transactions in which he was engaged by his constant desire of promoting union and concord among christians. For it is well known, that he kept up a constant friendly correspondence with the most eminent ministers of the foreign protestant churches, and showed a fraternal regard to them, notwithstanding the difference of their discipline and government from that of the church of England. In a letter written to the learned Le Clerc in the year 1716, he expresses, in the most cordial terms, his affection for them, and declares positively, that nothing can be farther from his thoughts, than the notions adopted by certain bigoted and furious writers, who refuse to embrace the foreign protestants as their brethren, will not allow their religious assemblies the denomination of *churches*, and deny the validity of their sacraments. He declares, on the contrary, these churches to be the true *christian churches*, and expresses a warm desire of their union with the church of England. It will be, perhaps, difficult to find, in any epistolary composition, ancient or modern, a more elegant simplicity, a more amiable spirit of meekness, moderation, and charity, and a happier strain of that easy and unaffected politeness which draws its expressions from a natural habit of goodness and humanity, than we meet with in this letter.* We see this active and benevolent pre-

* See an extract of it among the pieces subjoined. No. XIX.

late still continuing to interest himself in the welfare of the protestant churches abroad. In several letters, written in the years 1718 and 1719, to the pastors and professors of Geneva and Switzerland, who were then at variance about the doctrines of predestination and grace, and some other abstruse points of metaphysical theology, the archbishop recommends earnestly to them a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance, entreats them particularly to be *moderate* in their *demands* of subscription to *articles of faith*, and proposes to them the example of the church of England, as worthy of imitation in this respect. In one of these letters, he exhorts the doctors of Geneva not to go too far in explaining the *nature*, determining the *sense*, and imposing the *belief* of doctrines, which the Divine Wisdom has not thought proper to reveal *clearly* in the holy scriptures, and the ignorance of which is very consistent with a state of salvation; and he recommends the prudence of the church of England, which has expressed these doctrines in such general terms, in its articles, that persons who think very differently about the doctrines, may subscribe the articles, without wounding their integrity.^f His letters to professor Schurer of Berne, and the excellent and learned John Allonso Turretin of Geneva, are in the same strain of moderation and charity, and are here subjoined,^g as every way worthy of the reader's perusal. But what is more peculiarly worthy of attention here is a letter, written May 22, 1719,^h to Mr. Jablonski of Poland, who, from a persuasion of Dr. Wake's great wisdom, discernment, and moderation, had proposed to him the following question, viz. "Whether it was lawful and expedient for the Lutherans to treat of an union with the church of Rome; or whether all negotiations of this kind ought not to be looked upon as dangerous and delusive?" The archbishop's answer to this question contains a happy mixture of protestant zeal and christian charity. He gives the strongest cautions to the Polish Lutherans against entering into any treaty of union with the Roman catholics, otherwise than on a footing of perfect equality, and in consequence of a previous renunciation, on the part of the latter, of the tyranny, and even of the superiority and jurisdiction, of the

^f See the pieces here subjoined, No. XX.

^g See these letters, No. XXI, XXII, XXIII.

^h Ibid. No. XXV.

church of Rome and its pontiff; and as to what concerns points of doctrine, he exhorts them not to sacrifice truth to temporal advantages, or even to a *desire of peace*. It would carry us too far, were we to give a minute account of Dr. Wake's correspondence with the protestants of Nismes, Lithuania, and other countries; it may, however, be affirmed, that no prelate, since the Reformation, had so extensive a correspondence with the protestants abroad, and none could have a more friendly one.

It does not appear, that the dissenters in England made to the archbishop any proposals relative to an union with the established church; or that he made any proposals to them on that head. The spirit of the times, and the situation of the contending parties, offered little prospect of success to any scheme of that nature. In queen Anne's time, he was only bishop of Lincoln; and the disposition of the House of Commons, and of all the tory part of the nation, was then so unfavourable to the dissenters, that it is not at all likely that any attempt toward reuniting them to the established church would have passed into a law. And in the next reign, the face of things was so greatly changed in favour of the dissenters, and their hopes of recovering the rights and privileges, of which they had been deprived, were so sanguine, that it may be well questioned whether they would have accepted the offer of an union, had it been made to them. Be that as it will, one thing is certain, and it is a proof of archbishop Wake's moderate and pacific spirit, that, in the year 1714, when the spirit of the court and of the triumphant part of the ministry was, with respect to the whigs in general, and to dissenters in particular, a spirit of enmity and oppression, this worthy prelate had the courage to stand up in opposition to the *Schism bill*, and to protest against it as a hardship upon the dissenters. This step, which must have blasted his credit at court, and proved detrimental to his private interest, as matters then stood, showed that his regard for the dissenters was friendly and sincere. It is true, four years after this, when it was proposed to repeal the *Schism bill* and the *act against Occasional Conformity*, both at once, he disapproved of this proposal. And this circumstance has been alleged as an objection to the encomiums that have been given to his tender regard for the dissenters, or, at least, as a proof that he changed his mind; and that

Wake, bishop of Lincoln, was more their friend than Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. I do not pretend to justify this change of conduct. It seems to have been, indeed, occasioned by a change of circumstances. The dissenters, in their state of oppression during the ministry of Bolingbroke and his party, were objects of compassion; and those who had sagacity enough to perceive the ultimate object which that ministry had in view in oppressing them, must have interested themselves in their sufferings, and opposed their oppressors from a regard to the united causes of protestantism and liberty. In the following reign, the credit of the dissenters rose; and, while this encouraged the wise and moderate men among them to plead with prudence and with justice their right to be delivered from several real grievances, it elated the violent, and violent men there are in all parties, nay even in the cause of moderation, to a high degree. This rendered them formidable to all those who were jealous of the power, privileges, and authority, of the established church; and archbishop Wake was probably of this number. He had protested against the shackles that were imposed upon them when they lay under the frowns of government; but apprehending, perhaps, that the removing these shackles in the day of prosperity would render their motions toward power too rapid, he opposed the abrogation of the very acts which he had before endeavoured to stifle in their birth. In this, however, it must be acknowledged, that the spirit of party mingled too much of its influence with the dictates of prudence: and that prudence, thus accompanied, was not very consistent with Dr. Wake's known principles of equity and moderation. As I was at a loss how to account for this part of the archbishop's conduct, I addressed myself to a learned and worthy clergyman of the church of England, who gave me the following answer; "archbishop Wake's objection to the repeal of the schism act was founded on this consideration only, that such a repeal was needless, as no use had been made, or was likely to be made, of that act. It is also highly probable, that he would have consented without hesitation to rescind it, had nothing farther been endeavoured at the same time. But, considering what sort of spirit was then shown by the dissenters and others, it ought not to be a matter of great wonder if he was afraid, that from the repeal of the other act, viz.

that against occasional conformity, considerable damage might follow to the church, over which he presided; and even supposing his fears to be excessive, or quite groundless, yet certainly they were pardonable in a man who had never done, nor designed to do, any thing disagreeable to the dissenters in any other affair, and who, in this, had the concurrence of some of the greatest and wisest of the English lords, and of the earl of Illy, among the Scotch, though a professed presbyterian."

However some may judge of this particular incident, I think it will appear from the whole tenor of archbishop Wake's correspondence and transactions with christian churches of different denominations, that he was a man of a pacific, gentle, and benevolent spirit, and an enemy to the feuds, animosities, and party prejudices, which divide the professors of one holy religion, and by which Christianity is exposed to the assaults of its virulent enemies, and wounded in the house of its pretended friends. To this deserved eulogy, we may add what a learned and worthy divine,ⁱ has said of this eminent prelate, considered as a controversial writer, even, "that his accurate and superior knowledge of the nature of the Romish hierarchy, and of the constitution of the church of England, furnished him with victorious arms, both for the subversion of error and the defence of truth."

ⁱ Dr. William Richardson, master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, and canon of Lincoln. See his noble edition, and his very elegant and judicious continuation of bishop Godwin's *Commentarius de Præsulibus Angliæ*, published in the year 1743, at Cambridge. His words (p. 167) are; "Nemo uspiam Ecclesiæ Romanæ vel Anglicanæ statum penitus cognitum et exploratum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenâ prodiit tum ad oppugnandum tum ad repugnandum instructissimus."

AUTHENTIC COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS, FROM WHICH THE PRECEDING
ACCOUNT IS DRAWN.

NO. I.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Lambeth, Nov. 28th, S. V. 1717.

I AM indebted to you for several kind letters and some small tracts, which I have had the favour to receive from you. The last, which contains an account of the new edition that is going on of Chrysostome, I received yesterday. It will, no doubt, be a very valuable edition; but, as they propose to go on with it, I shall hardly live to see it finished. They do not tell us, to whom here we may go for subscriptions; and it is too much trouble to make returns to Paris. They should, for their own advantage, say, where subscriptions will be taken in London, and where one may call for the several volumes as they come out, and pay for the next that are going on.

Among the account of books you were pleased to send me, there is one with a very promising title, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 5 volumes. I wish I could know what the chief of those anecdotes are, it may be a book very well worth having. I admire they do not disperse some sheets of such works. What they can add to make Moreri's Dictionary so very voluminous, I cannot imagine. I bought it in two exorbitant volumes, and thought it big enough so. While I am writing this, company is come in, so that I am forced to break off; and I can only assure you, that, upon all occasions, you shall find me very sincerely,

Reverend Sir,

Your faithful friend,

W. CANT.

N. B. This is the earliest letter in the whole collection; and, by the beginning of it, seems to be the first which the archbishop wrote to Mr. Beauvoir.

NO. II.

A LETTER FROM MR. BEAUVOIR TO ARCHBISHOP WAKE.

MY LORD,

Paris, Dec. 11. 1717, O. S.

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter of the 28th ultimo but Sunday last, and therefore could not answer it

sooner. A person is to be appointed to receive subscriptions for the new edition of St. Chrysostome, and deliver the copies. Enclosed is an account of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. Dr. Du Pin, with whom I dined last Monday, and with the Syndic of the Sorbonne, and two other doctors, tells me. that what swells Moreri's Dictionary are several additions, and particularly the families of Great Britain. He hath the chief hand in this new edition. They talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, &c. They wished for an union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. Dr. Du Pin desired me to give his duty to your Grace, upon my telling him, that I would send you an arrest of the parliament of Paris relating to him, and a small tract of his. I have transmitted them to Mr. Prevereau, at Mr. Secretary Addison's office.

NO. III.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Aug. 30, 1712.

I TOLD you in one of my last letters, how little I expected from the present pretences of an union with us. Since I received the papers you sent me, I am more convinced that I was not mistaken. My task is pretty hard, and I scarce know how to manage myself in this matter. To go any farther than I have done in it, even as a divine only of the church of England, may meet with censure; and, as archbishop of Canterbury, I cannot treat with these gentlemen. I do not think my character at all inferior to that of an archbishop of Paris; on the contrary, without lessening the authority and dignity of the church of England, I must say it is in some respects superior. If the cardinal were in earnest for such an union, it would not be below him to treat with me himself about it. I should then have a sufficient ground to consult with my brethren, and to ask his Majesty's leave to correspond with him concerning it. But to go on any farther with these gentlemen, will only expose me to the censure of doing what, in my station, ought not to be done without the king's knowledge; and it would be very odd for me to have an authoritative permission to treat with those who have no

manner of authority to treat with me. However, I shall venture at some answer or other to both their letters and papers; and so have done with this affair.

I cannot tell well what to say to Dr. Du Pin. If he thinks we are to take their direction what to retain and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken. I am a friend to peace, but more to truth. And they may depend upon it, I shall always account our church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs; and that we are no more to receive laws from them, than we desire to impose any upon them. In short, the church of England is free, is orthodox. She has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other church to direct her what to retain, or what to do. Nor will we, otherwise than in a brotherly way, and in a full equality of right and power, ever consent to have any treaty with that of France. And therefore, if they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for the foundation, that we are to deal with one another upon equal terms. If, consistently with our own establishment, we can agree upon a closer union with one another, well; if not, we are as much, and upon as good grounds, a free independent church, as they are. And, for myself, as archbishop of Canterbury, I have more power, larger privileges, and a greater authority, than any of their archbishops. From which, by the grace of God, I will not depart; no, not for the sake of an union with them.

You see, sir, what my sense of this matter is; and may perhaps think that I have a little altered my mind, since this affair was first set on foot. As to my desire of peace and union with all other christian churches, I am still the same. But with the doctor's *Commonitorium* I shall never comply. The matter must be put into another method; and whatever they think, they must alter some of their doctrines, and practices too, or an union with them can never be effected. Of this, as soon as I have a little more leisure, I shall write my mind as inoffensively as I can to them, but yet freely too.

If any thing is to come of this matter, it will be the shortest method I can take of accomplishing it, to put them in the right way. If nothing, as I believe nothing will be done in it, 'tis good to leave them under a plain knowledge of what we think of ourselves and our church; and to let them see, that we neither need nor seek the

union proposed, but for their sake as well as our own; or rather neither for theirs nor ours; but in order to the promotion of a catholic communion, as far as is possible, among all the true churches of Christ.

I have now plainly opened my mind to you; you will communicate no more of it than is fitting to the two doctors, but keep it as a testimony of my sincerity in this affair; and that I have no design, but what is consistent with the honour and freedom of our English church, and with the security of that true and sound doctrine which is taught in it; and from which no consideration shall ever make me depart. I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate friend
and brother,

W. CANT.

NO. IV.

FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Oct. 2, 1713.

WHATEVER be the consequence of our corresponding with the Sorbonne doctors about matters of religion, the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us so to do. Under this apprehension I have written, though with great difficulty, two letters to your two doctors, which I have sent to the secretary's office, to go, with the next packet, to my lord Stair. I beg you to inquire after them; they make up together a pretty thick packet, directed to you. In that to Dr. Du Pin, I have, in answer to two of his MSS. described the method of making bishops in our church. I believe he will be equally both pleased and surprised with it. I wish you could show him the form of consecration, as it stands in the end of your large common prayer books. The rest of my letters, both to him and Dr. Piers, is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them of the necessity of embracing the present opportunity of breaking off from the pope, and going one step farther than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority; so as to leave him only a primacy of place and honour; and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city. I hope they both show you my let-

ters; they are this time very long, and upon a nice point. I shall be very glad if you can any way learn how they take the freedom I have used, and what they really think of it. I cannot so much trust to their answers, in which they have more room to conceal their thoughts, and seldom want to overwhelm me with more compliments than I desire, or am well able to bear.

Pray do all you can to search out their real sense of, and motions at, the receipt of these two letters; I shall thereby be able the better to judge how far I may venture hereafter to offer any thing to them upon the other points in difference between us. Though, after all, I still think, if ever a reformation be made, it is the state that must govern the church in it. But this between ourselves.

NO. V.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU PIN, DATED

October 1st, 1718.

Spectatissimo Viro, eruditorum suæ gentis, si non et sui sæculi principi; Dno L. Ell. du Pin Doctori Parisiensi.

Gul. prov. div. Cant. Archs. in omnibus εὐφροεῖν καὶ εὐπρέα τρεῖν.

Diu est, amplissime Domine, ex quo debitor tibi factus sum ob plures tractatus MSS. quos tuo beneficio a dilecto mihi in Christo D. Beauvoir accepi. Perlegi diligenter omnes, nec sine fructu; plurima quippe ab iis cognita dignissima, vel primum didici, vel clarius intellexi; beatanique his difficillimis temporibus censeo Ecclesiam Gallicanam, quæ talem sibi in promptu habeat doctorem, in dubiis Consiliarium, in juribus suis tuendis advocatum; qui et possit et audeat, non modo contra snos vel erroneos vel perfidos symmystas dignitatem ejus tueri, sed et ipsi summo Pontifici, ut olim B. Apostolus Paulus Petro, in faciem resistere, quia reprehensibilis est. Atque utinam hæc quæ jam Romæ aguntur, tandem aliquando omnibus vobis animum darent ad jura vestra penitus asserenda! Ut deinceps non ex pragmaticis, ut olim, sanctionibus; non, ut hoc fere tempore, ex concordatis; non ex præjudicatis hominum opinionibus res vestras agatis; sed ea autoritate qua decet Ecclesiam tam illustris ac præpotentis imperii; quæ nullo jure, vel divino, vel humano, alteri olim aut Ecclesiæ aut Homini subjicitur; sed ipsa jus habet intra se sua negotia terminandi: et in omnibus sub Rege suo Christianissimo;

populum suum commissum propriis suis legibus et sanctionibus gubernandi.

Expergiscimini itaque, viri eruditi; et quod ratio postulat, nec refragatur religio, strenue agite. Hoc bonorum subditorum erga Regem suum officium, Christianorum erga Episcopos, suos, heu! nimium extraneorum tyrannide oppressos, pietas exigit, flagitat, requirit. Excutite tandem jugum istud, quod nec patres vestri, nec vos ferre potuistis. Hic ad Reformationem non prætensam, sed veram, sed justam, sed necessariam Ecclesiæ nostræ primus fuit gradus. Quæ Cæsaris erant, Cæsari reddimus; quæ Dei, Deo. Coronæ Imperialia Regni nostri suum suprematum, Episcopatu suam *ἐξίαν*, Ecclesiæ suam libertatem restituit, vel eo solum nomine semper cum honore memorandus, Rex Henricus VIII. Hæc omnia sub pedibus conculcaverat idem ille tunc nobis, qui jam vobis inimicus. Sæpius autoritas Papalis intra certos fines legibus nostris antea fuerat coercita; et iis quidem legibus, quas siquis hodie inspiceret, impossibile ei videretur eas potuisse aliqua vel vi vel astutia, perrumpere. Sed idem obis accidit quod illis, qui Dæmoniacum vinculis ligare voluere. Omnia frustra tentata; nihil perfecere inania legum repagula, contra, nescio quos prætextus potestatis divinæ nullis humanis constitutionibus subditæ. Tandem defatigato regno dura necessitas sua jura tuendi oculos omnium aperuit. Proponitur quæstio Episcopis ac Clero in utriusque provinciæ synodo congregatis, an Episcopus Romanus in Sacris Scripturis habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Episcopus? In partem sanam, justam, veram utriusque concilii suffragia concurrere. Quod Episcopi cum suo Clero statuerant, etiam Regni Academiæ calculo suo approbarunt, Rex cum Parlamento sancivit; adeoque tandem, quod unice fieri poterat, sublata penitus potestas, quam nullæ leges, nulla jura, vel Civilia vel Ecclesiastica, intra debitos fines unquam poterant continere. En nobis promptum ac paratum exemplum; quod sequi vobis gloriosum, nec minus posteris vestris utile fuerit! Quo solo pacem, absque veritatis dispendio, tueri valeatis; ac irridere bruta de Vaticano fulmina; quæ jamdudum ostenditis vobis non ultra terrori esse, utpote, a Sacris Scripturis edoctis, quod *maledictio absque causa prolata non superveniet*. Prov. xxvi. 2.

State ergo in libertate qua Christus vos donaverit;

Frustra ad Concilium generale nunquam convocandum res vestras refertis. Frustra Decretorum vim suspendere curatis, quæ ab initio injusta, erronea, ac absurda, ac plane nulla erant. Non talibus subsidiis vobis opus est. Regia permissione, Authoritate sua a Christo commissia, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi vestri in concilium nationale coeant; Academiæ, Cleri ac præcipue utrorumque principis Theologicæ Facultatis Parisiensis consilium atque auxilium sibi assumant; sic muniti quod æquum et justum fuerit decernant; quod decreverint etiam civili authoritate firmandum curent; nec patiantur factiosos homines alio res vestras vocare, aut ad judicem appellare qui nullam in vos authoritatem exposcere debeat, aut si exposcat, merito a vobis recusari et poterit et debuerit.

Ignoscas, vir πολυμαθής, indignationi dicam an amoris meo, si forte aliquanto ultra modum commoveri videar ab iis quæ vobis his proximis annis acciderint. Veritatem Christi omni qua possum animi devotione colo. Hanc vos tuemini; pro hac censuras Pontificias subiistis, et porro ferre parati estis.

Ille, qui se pro summo ac ferre unico Christi vicario venditat, veritatem ejus sub pedibus proterit, conculcat. Justitiam veneror; Ac proinde vos injuste, ac plane tyrannice, si non oppressos, at impetitos, at comminatos; at ideo non solum non penitus obrutos, subversos, prostratos, quia Deus furori ejus obicem posuit, nec permiserit vos in ipsius manus incidere; non possum non vindicare, et contra violentum oppressorem, meum qualecunque suffragium ferre.

Jura ac libertates inelyti regni, celeberrimæ ecclesiæ, præstantissimi Cleri cum honore intueor. Hæc Papa reprobat, contemnit; Et dum sic alios tractat, merito se aliis castigandum, certe intra justos fines coercendum, exhibit. Siquid ei potestatis supra alios Episcopos Christus commiserit, proferantur tabulæ; jus evincatur; cedere non recusamus.

Siquam prærogativam Ecclesia Concilia sedis Imperialis Episcopo concesserint, etsi cadente Imperio, etiam ea prærogativa excidisse merito possit censi; tamen quod ad me attinet, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur, qualicunque primatu; non ego illi locum primum; non inanem honoris titulum invideo. At in alias ecclesias dominari; Episcopa-

tum, cujus partem Christus unicuique Episcopo in solidum reliquit, tantum non in solidum sibi soli vindicare ; siquis ejus injustæ Tyrannidi sese opposuerit, cœlum ac terram in illius perniciem commovere. Hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis. In hoc pacis fundamento si inter nos semel conveniatur, in cæteris aut idem sentiemus omnes, aut facile alii aliis dissentiendi libertatem absque pacis jactura concedemus.

Sed abripit calamum meum nescioquis *ἑνθεσιασμός* dum de vestris injuriis nimium sum sollicitus, et forte liberius quam par esset, de his rebus ad te scripsisse videbor.

Ego vero uti ea omnia, quæ tu in tuo Commonitorio exaraveris, etiam illa in quibus ab invicem dissentimus, grato animo accipio ; ita ut aperte, ut candide et absque omni fuco porro ad me scribere pergas, eaque *παρήγνια* qua amicum cum amico agere deceat, imprimis a te peto ; eo te mihi amiciorem fore existimans, quo simplicius, quo planius, quicquid censeris, libere dixeris.

Nec de Commonitorio tuo amplius aliquid hoc tempore reponam ; in quo cum plurima placeant, tum id imprimis, quod etiam tuo judicio, non adeo longe ab invicem distemus, quin si de fraterna unione ineunda publica aliquando autoritate deliberari contigerit, via facile inveniri poterit ad pacem inter nos stabiliendam, salva utrinque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ fide ac veritate.

Quod ad alteros tuos tractatus de Constitutione Episcoporum in Ecclesiis vacantibus, siquidem Papa legitime requisitus, facultatis suas personis a Rege nominatis obstinate pernegaverit ; in iis sane reperio quod non tua eruditione et judicio sit. Quare ne prorsus *ἀσυμβολοις* discedam, ordinem tibi breviter delineabo constituendi Episcopos in hac Reformata nostra Ecclesia.

Tu judicabis, an aliquid magis canonice vel excogitari vel statui potuerit.

NO. VI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. P. PIERS GIRARDIN, WRITTEN IN
October, 1718.

*Præstantissimo Viro, Consummatissimo Theologo, Dno Patricio Piers de Girardin, &c. &c.
facultatis Parisiensis Theologiæ Doctori.*

Gul. Prov. div. Cant. Archs. Gratiam, Pacem, ac Salutem in Domino.

POST prolixiores epistolas eruditissimo confratri tuo D^{co}
D^{ri} Du Pin hoc ipso tempore exaratas ; quasque ego paulo

minus tuas, quam illius existimari velim, facilius a te veniam impetrabo, vir spectatissime, si aliquanto brevius ad te rescribam ; et in illis quidem animi mei vel amoris vel indignationi libere indulsi ; eaque simplicitate, qua decet Christianum et maxime Episcopum, quid vobis, mea saltem sententia, factu opus sit, aperte exposui. Siquid vel tuo vel illius judicio, asperius quam par esset, a me exciderit, cum vestri causa adeo commotus fuerim, facile id homini tam benevole erga vos animato, uti spero, condonabitis ; unaque reminiscimini, nullam unquam vobis stabilem inter vos pacem, aut Catholicam cum aliis unionem, haberi posse, dum aliquid ultra merum honoris primatum ac *προεδρίαν* Pontifici Romano tribuitis. Hoc nos per aliquot sæcula experti sumus ; vos jam sentire debetis, qui, nescio quo insano ipsius beneficio, adeo commodam occasionem nacti estis, non tam ab illius decretis appellandi, quam ab ipsius dominio ac potestate vos penitus subducendi. Ipse vos pro Schismaticis habet ; qualem vos eum censere debetis. Ipse a vestra communione se suosque separandos publice denunciat. Quid vobis in hoc casu faciendum ? Liccat mihi veteris illius Cæsareæ Episcopi Firmiliani verbis respondere ; sic olim Stephanum Papam acriter quidem, sed non ideo minus juste, castigavit. “ Vide qua imperitia reprehendere audeas eos qui contra mendacium pro veritate nituntur. Peccatum vero quam magnum tibi exaggerasti, quando te a tot gregibus scidisti ; excidisti enim te ipsum, noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est vere Schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiastica uuitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.” Cypr. Op. Epist. 75.

Agite ergo, viri eruditi, et quo vos divina providentia vocat, libenter sequimini. Clemens Papa vos abdicavit ; a sua et suorum communione repulit, rejecit. Vos illius auctoritati renuntiate. Cathedræ Petri, quæ in omnibus Catholicis Ecclesiis conservatur, adhærete. Etiam nostram ne refugiatis communionem ; quibuscum si non in omnibus omnino doctrinæ Christianæ captibus conveniatis, at in præcipuis, at in fundamentalibus, at in omnibus articulis fidei ad salutem necessariis plane consentitis ; etiam in cæteris, uti speramus, brevi consensuri. Nobis certe eo minus vos vel Hæreticos vel Schismaticos fore confidite, quod a Papa ejecti pro Hæreticis et Schismaticis Romæ æstimemini. Sed contrahenda vela, nec indulgendum

huic meo pro vobis zelo ; etsi sit secundum scientiam. Prudentibus loquor ; vos ipsi, quod dico, judicate.

Ad literas tuas, præstantissime Domine, redeo ; in quibus uti tuum de mediocritate mea iudicium, magis ex affectu erga me tuo, quam secundum merita mea prolatum, grater accipio, ita in eo te nunquam falli patiar, quod me pacis Ecclesiasticæ amantissimum credas ; omniæque illi consequendæ danda putem, præter veritatem. Quantum ad illam promovendam tu jamjam contuleris, ex sex illis propositionibus quas tuis inseruisti literis, gratus agnosco ; ac nisi ambitiose magis quam hominem privatum deceat, me facturum existimarem, etiam eruditissimis illis confratribus tuis Doctoribus Sorbonicis, quibus priores meas literas communicasti, easdem per te gratias referrem. Sane Facultas vestra Parisiensis, uti maximum in his rebus pondus merito habere debeat, sive numerum, sive dignitatem, sive denique eruditionem suorum membrorum, spectemus ; ita a vobis exordium sumere debet unio illa inter nos tantopere desiderata, siquidem eam aliquando iniri voluerit Deus.

Interim gratulor vobis post illustrissimum Card. Noailium, alterum illum Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, fidei Catholicæ Columnam et Ornamentum, procuratorem regium, D. D. De Joly de Fleury. Quem virum ego non jam primum ex tuis literis debito prosequi honore didici, verum etiam ob ea quæ vestri causa his proximis annis publice egerit, antea suspicere, et pene venerari, consueveram. Sub his ducibus, quid non sperandum in publicum vestrum ac Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commodum ? Intonet de Vaticano Pontifex Rom. fremant inter vos ipsos conjurata turba, Romanæ curiæ servi magis quam suæ Galliæ fideles subditi. His præsidiis ab eorum injuriis tuti, vanas eorum iras contemnere valeatis.

Ego vero, uti omnia vobis publice fausta ac felicia precor, ita tibi, spectatissime vir, me semper addictissimum fore promitto. De quo quicquid alias senseris, id saltem ut de me credas jure postulo ; me sincere veritatem Christi et amare et quærere ; et, nisi omnino me fallat animus, etiam assecutum esse. Nulli Christiano inimicus antehac aut fui aut deinceps sum futurus ; sic de erroribus eorum, qui a me dissident, judico, ut semper errantes Deo iudicandos relinquam. Homo sum, errare possum ; sic vero animatus audacter dicam, Hæreticus esse nolo. Te vero, siquidem id permittas, fratrem ; sin id minus placeat,

saltem id indulgebis, ut me vere et ex animo profitear, excellentissime Domine, tui amantissimum,

W. C.

NO. VII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 6, O. S. 1718.

YOUR last letter gives me some trouble, but more curiosity. I little thought, when I wrote to your two doctors, that my letters should have been read, much less copies of them given, to any such great persons as you mention. I write in haste, as you know, and trust no amanuensis to copy for me, because I will not be liable to be betrayed. And upon a review of my foul and only copy of them, since I had your account from Paris, I find some things might have been more accurately expressed, had I took more time to correct my style. But I wish that be the worst exception against them. I fear the freedom I took in exhorting them to do somewhat in earnest, upon so fair a provocation, with regard to the papal authority, though excused as well as I could, will hardly go down so effectually as I could wish with them. This raises my curiosity, to know truly and expressly how that part of my letters operated on both your doctors; which, by a wary observation, you may in good measure gather from their discourse. I cannot tell whether they showed my letters to you; if they did, I am sure you will think I did not mince the matter with them in that particular.

Of your two doctors, Dr. Piers seems the more polite, he writes elegantly both for style and matter; and has the freer air, even as to the business of an union. Yet I do not despair of Dr. Du Pin, whom, thirty years ago, in his collection of tracts relating to church discipline, I did not think far from the kingdom of God.

NO. VIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Nov. 18, 1718.

AT present, my more particular curiosity leads me to know the sentiments of the leading men in France with regard to the court of Rome; from which, if we could

once divide the Gallican church, a reformation in other matters would follow of course. The scheme that seems to me most likely to prevail, is, to agree in the independence, as to all matters of authority, of every national church on any others; and in their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves; and for points of doctrine to agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment, as in effect we either already do, or easily may; and for other matters, to allow a difference, till God shall bring us to an union in those also. One only thing should be provided for, to purge out of the public offices of the church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the service of the church, that so whenever any come from us to them, or from them to us, we may all join together in prayers and the holy sacraments with each other. In our liturgy, there is nothing but what they allow of, save the single rubic relating to the Eucharist: in theirs nothing but what they agree may be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse, or more imperfect for want of it. Such a scheme as this, I take to be a more proper ground of peace, at the beginning, than to go to more particulars; if in such a foundation we could once agree, the rest would more easily be built upon it. If you find occasion, and that it may be of use, you may extract this project, and offer it to their consideration, as what you take to be my sense in the beginning of a treaty. Not that I think we shall stop here; but that, being thus far agreed, we shall the more easily go into a greater perfection hereafter. I desire you to observe as much as you can, when it is I may the most properly write to the doctors. I took the subject of the Pope's authority in my last, as arising naturally from the present state of their affairs, and as the first thing to be settled in order to an union. How my freedom in that respect has been received, I desire you freely to communicate.

NO. IX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Dec. 2, O. S. 1718.

I AM glad the two doctors seem to receive my last letters so well. The truth is, that while they manage as they do with the court of Rome. nothing will be done to any

purpose. And all ends in trifling at the last. We honestly deny the Pope all authority over us; they pretend, in words, to allow him so much as is consistent with what they call their Gallican privileges; but let him never so little use it contrary to their good liking, they protest against it, appeal to a general council, and then mind him as little as we can do. In earnest, I think we treat his holiness not only with more sincerity, but more respect than they; for to own a power, and yet keep a reserve to obey that power only so far, and in such cases as we make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and for that reason refuse to obey it. But my design was partly to bring them to this, and partly to see how they would bear, at least the proposal, of totally breaking off from the court and bishop of Rome.

What you can observe, or discover, more, of their inclinations in this particular, will be of good use; especially if it could be found out what the court would do, and how far that may be likely to countenance the clergy in such a separation. In the mean time, it cannot be amiss to cultivate a friendship with the leading men of that side, who may in time be made use of to the good work of reforming in earnest the Gallican church. I am a little unhappy that I have none here I yet dare trust with what I do; though I am satisfied most of our high church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design. But these are not men either, to be confided in, or made use of, by

Your assured friend,

W. CANT.

P. S. Did Cardinal De Noailles know what authority the archbishop of Canterbury has got by the reformation, and how much a greater man he is now than when he was the pope's Legatus Natus, it might encourage him to follow so good a pattern, and be assured, in that case, he would lose nothing by sending back his cardinal's cap to Rome. I doubt your doctors know little of these matters.

NO. X.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Jan. 23, O. S. 1712.

WHEN you see my letter, for I conclude the doctor will show it you, you may do well to bring on the discourse of our episcopal rights and privileges in England; and particularly of the prerogatives of the archbishop of Canterbury, which I believe are greater than those of the archbishop of Rheims, or of all the archbishops in France. This may raise in them a curiosity to know more of this matter, which, if they desire, I will take the first little leisure I have to give them a more particular account of it. We must deal with men in their own way, if we mean to do any good with them. They have been used to a pompous ministry, and, like the Jews heretofore, would despise the Messiah himself, if he should come in a poor and low estate to them. And therefore, though for myself, I account all temporal grandeur as nothing; nay I am afraid it has rather hurt the church of Christ, and the true spirit of piety and religion, than done any real service to either; yet it may be a means of disposing these gentlemen to a more favourable thought of, and inclination toward, a reformation; to convince them that they return to the truth of Christianity, and leave the corruptions of Rome, without losing any honour, any power, that a servant of Christ would desire to be troubled withal. Had the first reformers in France yielded to this scheme, as we in England showed them an example, the whole Gallican church had come in to them, and been at this day as we are now; we must therefore hit off the blot which they made; and satisfy their ambition so far as to show them, that they may reform, without giving up either their authority or revenues; and be still as great, but much better bishops, under our circumstances, than under their own.

As to the Pope's authority, I take the difference to be only this; that we may all agree, without troubling ourselves with the reason, to allow him a primacy of order in the episcopal college; they would have it thought necessary to hold communion with him, and allow him a little canonical authority over them, as long as he will leave them to prescribe the bounds of it. We fairly say we know of

no authority he has in our realm ; but for actual submission to him, they as little mind it as we do.

At present he has put them out of his communion ; we have withdrawn ourselves from his ; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies.

[NO. XI.

A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

February 5, 1718-19. O. S.

I do not doubt but that mine of the 18th of January, with the two enclosed for my Lord Stair and Dr. Du Pin, are before this come safe to you. I should not be sorry if, upon this late transaction between the doctor and ministry, you have kept it in your hands, and not delivered it to him, I had just begun a letter to Dr. Piers, but have thrown aside what I wrote of it, since I received your last ; and must beg the favour of you to make my excuse to him, with the tenders of my hearty service, till I see a little more what the meaning of this present inquisition is. I am not so unacquainted with the finesses of courts, as not to apprehend, that what is now done, may be as well in favour of the doctor's attempt as against it. If the Procureur General be indeed well affected to it, he might take this method, not only to his own security, but to bring the affair under a deliberation, and give a handle to those whom it chiefly concerns, to discover their sentiments of it. But the matter may be also put to another use, and nobody can answer that it shall not be so ; and till I see what is the meaning of this sudden turn, I shall write no more letters for the French ministry to examine, but content myself to have done enough already to men who cannot keep their own counsel, and live in a country where even the private correspondence of learned men with one another must be brought to a public inquiry, and be made the subject of a state inquisition. I am not aware that in any of my letters there is one line that can give a just offence to the court. I have always took it for granted, that no step should be taken toward an union, but with the knowledge and approbation, and even by the authority, of civil powers ; and indeed, if I am in the right, that nothing can be done to any purpose in this case but by throwing off the

pope's authority, as the first step to be made in order to it, it is impossible for any such attempt to be made by any power less than the king's. All therefore that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any just exception as to the civil magistrate; it is only a consultation, in order to find out a way how an union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered for the doing of it. Yet still I do not like to have my letters exposed in such a manner, though satisfied there is nothing to be excepted against in them, and I think I shall be kind to the doctors themselves, to suspend, at least for a while, my farther troubling of them. I hope you will endeavour, by some or other of your friends, to find out the meaning of this motion; from whom it came; how far it has gone; what was the occasion of it; and what is like to be the consequence of it; what the abbe Du Bois says of my letters, and how they are received by him and the other ministers. I shall soon discover whether any notice has been taken of it to our ministry; and I should think if the abbe spoke to your lord about it, he would acquaint you with it.

NO. XII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

February 24, 1712.

I do not at all wonder that the cardinals Rohan and Bissi should do all they can to blacken the good cardinal de Noailles, and in him the party of the anticonstitutionists, but especially the Sorbonne, their most weighty and learned adversaries; and I am sensible that such a complaint is not only the most proper to do this, but to put the court itself under some difficulties, which way soever it acts upon it. But I am still the more curious to learn, if it were possible, not only the proceedings of the ministry above board hereupon, but their private thoughts and opinions about it. I am under no concern upon my own account, farther than that I would be unwilling to have my letters scanned by so many great men, which will scarcely bear the judgment of my very friends. You must do me the favour to get out of your doctors what will be most obliging to them, whether to continue to write to them, or to be silent for a while, till we see what will be the effect of this inquiry. In the mean time, it grows

every day plainer what I said from the beginning, that no reformation can be made but by the authority, and with the concurrence of the court; and that all we divines have to do, is to use our interest to gain them to it, and to have a plan ready to offer to them, if they should be prevailed upon to come to it.

I am at present engaged in two or three other transactions of moment to the foreign protestants, which take up abundance of my time; God knows what will be the effect of it. Nevertheless, if I can any way help to promote this, though I am at present without any help, alone, in this project, I shall do my utmost, both to keep up my poor little interest with the two doctors and their friends, and to concert proper methods with them about it. The surest way will be, to begin as well, and to go as far as we can, in settling a friendly correspondence one with another; to agree to own each other as true brethren, and members of the catholic christian church; to agree to communicate in every thing we can with one another, which, on their side, is very easy, there being nothing in our offices, in any degree contrary to their own principles; and would they purge out of theirs what is contrary to ours, we might join in the public service with them, and yet leave one another in the free liberty of believing transubstantiation or not, so long as we did not require any thing to be done by either in pursuance of that opinion. The Lutherans do this very thing; many of them communicate not only in prayers, but the communion with us; and we never enquire whether they believe consubstantiation, or even pay any worship to Christ as present with the elements, so long as their outward actions are the same with our own, and they give no offence to any with their opinions.

P. S. Since this last accident, and the public noise of an union at Paris, I have spoken something more of it to my friends here, who, I begin to hope, will fall in with it. I own a correspondence, but say not a tittle how far, or in what way, I have proceeded, more than that letters have passed, which can no longer be a secret. I have never shown one of my own or the doctor's to any body.

NO. XIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 16, S. V. 1715.

I THANK you for your account of what passed between Mons. Hop and you relating to the project of an union. I doubt that gentleman will not be pleased with it ; because, indeed, the Gallican church will never unite with any church that has not an orderly episcopacy in it. I am very sorry my poor letters are made so public. The next thing will be, that either the imprudence of our friends, or the malice of our enemies, will print them ; and then I shall have censures enough for them, perhaps some reflections printed upon them, or answers made to them ; but this shall not engage me in any defence of them, or in taking any farther notice of them. I beg you to keep those I have written to yourself from all view ; for I have no copies of them, and I wrote them as I do my other ordinary letters, without any great thought or consideration, more than what my subject, as I was writing, led me in that instant to. This is the liberty to be taken with a friend, where one is sure what he writes shall go no farther ; but, for the same reason, will require the strictest suppression from any other view. I cannot yet guess what this turn means, nor how it will end ; I wish your doctors could give you some farther light into it.

P. S. I entreat you never to forget me to the two good doctors, whom I love and honour ; keep up the little interest I have with them. As soon as ever the present turn is over, I will write to Dr. Girardin. I hope my letters will not always be carried as criminals before the Secretary of State, though I am persuaded he bears no ill will to me.

NO. XIV.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 29, 1715.

I AM much concerned to hear that Dr. Du Pin decays so fast ; I feared, by his last letter, that he was sinking apace. Pray, is there any good print of him taken these last years ? for I have one that was made when he was a young man.

I am sorry Dr. Piers grows faint hearted. I never thought any thing could be done as to a reformation in France, without the authority of the court ; but I was in hopes the regent and others might have found their account in such an attempt ; and then the good disposition of the bishops, clergy, and Sorbonne, with the parliament of Paris, would have given a great deal of spirit and expedition to it. I have done what was proper for me in that matter. I can now go no farther, till the abbot Du Bois is better disposed ; yet I shall still be pleased to keep up a little esteem between those gentlemen, which will do *us* some good, if it does not do *them* any service. I am apt to think, the good old man, Du Pin, does not think us far from the kingdom of heaven. I have with this sent a letter of friendship to Dr. Piers, which you will be so kind as to send him, with my kind respects.

NO. XV.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO DR. DU PIN, DATED

Lambeth, May 1, 1719.

N. B. *Du Pin was dead before it arrived at Paris.*

SPERAVERAM equidem tua auctoritate, constantia, eruditione, pietate, moderatione, quæ omnia adeo in te perfecta esse noscuntur, ut vix in aliis singula, præclari aliquid ad Dei gloriam. Ecclesiæque Gallicanæ utilitatem perfici potuisse. Crediderim advenisse tempus, in quo excusso Romanæ tyrannidis iugo, una nobiscum in eandem communionem coalesceretis. In dogmatibus, prout a te candite proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus : in regimine Ecclesiastico minus : in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino. Quam facilis erat ab his initiis ad concordiam progressus, modo animos haberemus ad pacem compositos ! Sed hoc principibus seculi non arripuit, unionis inimicis etiam plurimum displicet : neque nobis forte dabit Deus esse tam felicibus, ut ad hujusmodi unionem nostram qualemcunque opera conferamus. Relinquamus hoc illi, in cujus manu sunt rerum omnium tempora et occasiones. Sufficiat voluisse aliquid in tam insigni opere, forte et semina in terram projecisse, quæ fructum tandem multiplicem proferant. Interim, quod nemo nobis denegare possit, nos invicem ut fratres, ut ejusdem mystici corporis membra, amplectamur.

NO. XVI.]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

Feb. 9, S. V. 1713-20.

I HEARTILY wish there were either spirit or inclination enough in the Sorbonne to go on with our friend the abbe's project; but the fire decays, men's inclinations cool; the court will do nothing, and you are very sensible that without the court nothing can be done in any such affair. Nevertheless, their good opinion of the church of England should be kept up as much as possible; we should encourage them all we can to account of us as of brethren, who have only thrown off, what they are weary of, the tyranny of the court of Rome, without any change in any fundamental article, either of the doctrine or government of the catholic church. And upon this ground I shall be ready to continue a brotherly correspondence with any of their great men, provided it be done with such caution as may not expose my letters to be made prisoners to a secretary of state, a thing which can never become my character, and may carry an ill aspect, even in our own court, till the thing be rightly understood.

NO. XVII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

March 31, 1720.

I THANK you for your account of the present state of the French church. It is a very odd one indeed; but will settle into an agreement at last. When once the appellants begin to break, the court will drive all the obstinate, as they will call them; I should name them, the honest men, of courage and constancy, to a compliance.

NO. XVIII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. BEAUVOIR.

April 19, O. S. 1720.

I PERCEIVE, by some late letters from him, Piers Girardin, that he begins to despair of the business of the constitution. He has reason; the cardinal de Noailles is ensnared. and has gone too far to retire. The new archbishop

of Cambray will be a cardinal, and this affair of the constitution must procure the calot for him. The regent himself is afraid of the Spanish party, and the Jesuits; and he will gain, or at least appease them. For all these reasons, the doctrine of the church, and the Gallican liberties, must be abandoned; and on the slight pretence of a comm^t. of no esteem with the opposite party, an accommodation will certainly be made; and those who will not voluntarily go, shall be driven into it. If our poor friend be one of those who must hereby suffer, why may he not consider of a retreat hither? and since he cannot yet bring on an union with the two churches, unite himself with ours, from which I am sure his principles, and I believe his inclinations, are not greatly distant? But this must be managed very tenderly, and rather by a kind of rallying, than a direct proposal of it. If he inclines to it, he will easily understand your meaning; if not, it is best not to go on far with him in a matter in which you will have no good success.

NO. XIX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. LE CLERC-

April, 1713.

NOVUM Testamentum Gallicum, notis tuis feliciter ornatum, totum, nec sine fructu, perlegi. Præfatione tua eidem præfixa mirifice affectus sum; legi, relegi, quin et sæpius deinceps repetam. Ita me in ipso præsertim ejus initio commovit, ut veræ pietatis in ea relucentem spiritum nunquam satis laudare possim, vel animo meo satis alte imprimere.

Et quamvis in annotationibus tuis quædam liberius dicta occurrant, quæ non æque omnibus placeant, neque mihi ipsi ubique satisfaciant; fero tamen, et vel in ipso tuo a communi sententia discessu aliquid mihi invenire videor, quod ignoscere magis quam acerbius reprehendere debeam, multo minus inclementius damnare. Libertatem prophetandi, modo pia ac sobria sit, cum charitate, ac mansuetudine conjuncta, nec contra analogiam *fidei semel sanctis traditæ*, adeo non vituperandam, ut etiam probandam censeam. De rebus adiaphoris cum nemine contemnendum puto. Ecclesias reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissentientes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen Episcopale bene temperatum, et ab omni in-

justa dominatione sejunctum, quale apud nos obtinet, et, siquid ego in his rebus sapiam, ab ipso Apostolorum ævo in Ecclesia receptum fuerit, et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum; nec despero quin aliquando restitutum, si non ipse videam, at posterì videbunt. Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum, sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat, aliquas earum a communione nostra abscindendas credam; aut cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem. Unionem arctiorem inter omnes reformatos procurare quovis pretio vellem. Hæc si in regimine Ecclesiastico, ac publicis Ecclesiarum officiis obtineri potuit; aut ego plurimum fallor, aut id solum brevi conduceret ad animorum inter eos unionem conciliandam; et viam sterneret ad plenam in omnibus majoris momenti dogmatibus concordiam stabilendam. Quantum hoc ad religionis nostræ securitatem conduceret; quantum etiam ad Pseudo-catholicorum Romanensium conversionem, cæcus sit qui non videat. Sed abripuit me longius quam par esset hæc semper mihi dulcis de pace ac unione Ecclesiarum Reformatarum cogitatio. &c. &c.

NO. XX.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO THE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS OF
GENEVA.

April 8, 1713.

QUAMVIS literis vestris nihil mihi gratius potuit afferri, non tamen absque summo dolore, vix oculis siccis, eas perlegi; neque credo quenquam esse tam ferrei pectoris, qui ad ea mala quæ in illis referuntur non perhorrescat; mireturque talia ab hominibus erga homines, a popularibus erga populares suos, a Christianis denique erga Christianos, idque, quod fidem omnem exiuperare valeat, etiam religionis causa, fieri et perpetrari.

Vos interim, venerandi viri, quod vestri erat officii, sedulo præstitistis. Delegatos Ecclesiarum Hungaricarum amice accepistis. Querimoniam eorum, ea qua par erat charitate atque sympathia fraterna audivistis; nullaque mora adhibita ad remedium malis ipsorum inveniendum omnes vestras cogitationes convertistis. Per illustres magistratus vestros cæteros Reformatæ Religionis principes

atque senatores, ad persecutiones horum fratrum vestrorum serio considerandas, excitavistis; et ut suam auctoritatem interponerent ad sedandas eorum oppressiones enixissime obsecrastis.

Denique, nequid vel minimi ponderis desideretur quod studium vestrum in hoc tam insigni charitatis opere exequendo ostendatis, etiam mea qualicunque opera uti voluistis, animum Augustissimi Regis nostri commovendum, ne in hac tam gravi sua necessitate afflictis Christi servis deesset.

O amorem vere Christianum! et qualem deceat ejusdem corporis membra erga se invicem habere! Dignum profecto et vobis, et eximio illo vestro congressu, opus; ut quo præcipue tempore convenistis ad laudes Dei celebrandas, qui per duo jam secula Religionem Reformatam vobis incolumem servaverit: eodem etiam illam ipsam Religionem Evangelicam in aliis regionibus oppressam, concussam, ac tantum non extremum quasi spiritum trahentem, sublevetis, et si fieri possit, in integrum restituatis.

Ego vero, fratres charissimi, et propria voluntate motus, et vestro tam illustri exemplo impulsus, adeo eodem vobiscum ardore accendor, ut nihil non tentandum putem, quo vestris tam piis, tam justis, tamque benignis conatibus optatum successum compararem.

Imprimis igitur nobilem virum Comitem Sunderlandiæ Primarium Regis Ministrum sedulo adivi. Literas vestras illi communicavi; Petii, oravi, ut in hac re suam mihi operam atque auxilium concedere vellet; utque simul Regiam Majestatem adiremus; non quod de ipsius prompta voluntate dubitarem, sed ut quæ in hac causa facienda essent, eo majori vigore atque promptitudine perficerentur. Successit, fere ultra spem, conatus noster. Utriusque Ecclesiæ tum Hungariæ tum vicinæ Vallensis, oppressiones Regi, eo quo par erat effectu, exposuimus. Favorem ejus atque auctoritatem apud Cæsarem Regemque Sardiniae obnixè imploravimus, ut ab his tam iniustis vexationibus, eorum jussu et mandatis, liberentur. Et præcipue quod ad Pedemoutanas Ecclesias attinet, etiam adhortati sumus, ut jure suo a Rege Sardiniae postularet, ut pacta in his quæ Religionis exercitium concernent, earum gratia inita meliori fide in posterum observentur. Annuuit votis nostris Rex Serenissimus. Neque dubito quin legatis suis jamdudum præceperit, ut omnem

quam possunt operam suo nomine impendant, quo ab istis adeo iniquis oppressionibus utriusque Ecclesiæ membra liberentur. Orandus Deus ut tantis Principis conatibus, in hac tam justa, tam pia, tam religioni Christianæ proficua interpellatione aspirare dignetur; et oppressis suis servis exoptatam requiem tandem concedere, pro immensa sua misericordia velit.

Interim, dum hæc feliciter, uti spero, peraguntur, ignoret, fratres dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longe maximi omnibus commodi, inceptum, vobis proponam; in quo et sæpe alias et hoc tempore complures primariæ dignitatis viri summo studio allaborant; et quod ab omnibus, quibus puritas Evangelii reipsa cordi sit, una secum allaborandum sperant. Jamdudum sentitis quo mea tendit adhortatio; ad unionem nimirum inter omnes quæ ubique sunt Ecclesias, quæ his ultimis seculis a communione, seu verius tyrannide Pontificis Romani sese subdixerunt, sedulo promovendam. Quin hoc fieri possit, si quidem animum ad concordiam promptum omnes attulerimus, nullatenus dubitandum est. Quin fieri debeat, nemo prudens negaverit, &c. &c.

Vos interim, F. C. hoc agite, ut saltem inter vos ipsos pax atque concordia inviolabiliter conservetur. Summo quippe dolore, anno præterito, accepi dissensiones inter vos ortas fuisse, de capitulis aliquot circa doctrinam de Gratia Universali, aliisque quæstionibus longe difficillimis; in quibus optimi viri et doctissimi Theologi idem per omnia haudquaquam sentiunt. Angit hoc sane, idque non mediocriter, animum meum. Et quamvis nollem vobis videri ἀλλοτριόπιστοι, aut in alienam, quod aiunt, messem falcem meam immittere; permittite tamen ut in spiritu charitatis, eoque quo erga vos feror amore fraterno, vos obsecrem, et in Domino obtester, ut in hujusmodi rebus quatenus id fieri possit, idem sentiatis omnes; quod si id non assequi valeatis, ut saltem sic alii alios feratis, ut: 1. lum sit inter vos schisma, nullus querimoniarum aliquorum adversus alios locus; ut non nimium curiosi sitis in iis determinandis quæ Deus non admodum clare revelaverit, quæque absque salutis dispendio tuto nesciri poterint. Quæ sapientissimi prædecessores nostri, in omnibus suis confessionibus, caute tractanda censuerant, eaque moderatione, ut universi in iis subscribendis consentirent; et a quorum prudenti cautela sicubi postea discessum fuerit:

contentiones, lites, inimicitæ, aliaque infinita incommoda, protinus subsecuta sunt.

In his disquisitionibus Lutherani a reformatis dissident; nec reformati ipsi prorsus inter se conveniunt. Ecclesia Anglicana optimo concilio, exemplo ab omnibus imitando, nullius conscientiæ, his in rebus, jugum imponit. Quæ de illis in articulis suis statuerit, talia sunt, ut ab omnibus ex æquo admittantur. His contenta, nec ipsa aliquid amplius requirit curiosius statuere. Hinc summa inter nos pax cum sobria sentiendi libertate conjuncta. Utinam et vobis iisdem conditionibus, concordia stabiliatur! Utque veteri confessione vestra Helvetica contenti, neque alicui permitteretis aliter docere; neque ab aliquo quidpiam profitendum requireretur, ultra id quod ab initio requisitum fuerit. Cum tamen summi illi viri Calvinus et Beza, ut de aliis taceatur, secus de his articulis sentirent, quam alii plures; quos tamen non solum tolerandos, sed et pro fratribus habendos rite ac sapienter judicarunt.

Hoc vobis non modo pacem inter vos ipsos conciliabit, verum etiam concordiam cum aliis Ecclesiis Ecclesiis Reformatis sartam tectam tuebitur. Absque hujusmodi temperamine, unio illa cum Protestantibus, tantopere desiderata, nullo modo iniuri poterit; vos, igitur, serio hæc, ut par est, considerate; nec a nobis, a plerisque aliis Reformatis, etiam a vestris antecessoribus novis ac durioribus impositionibus secedite, &c. &c.

N. B. *The former part of this letter, which relates to the intercession of Archbishop Wake in behalf of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, has never been hitherto published. The latter part, beginning with these words: "Interim dum hæc feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite," &c. was inserted by Professor Turretin of Geneva, in his work, entitled, Nubes Testium. The words, "Interim dum hæc," &c. were, from an ignorance of their connexion with what goes before, supposed by some learned men to relate to the projected union between the English and Gallican churches; and Kieruingius, who says, in his Dissertation De Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum, that Dr. Wake communicated this project to the divines of Geneva, fell into this mistake, and probably drew Dr. Mosheim after him.*

NO. XXI.

EXTRACT FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR SCHURER AT BERNE.

July, 1716.

De Anglia nostra te peramanter et sentire et scribere plurimum gaudeo. Quanquam enim non adeo cæcus sum

patriæ meæ amator, ut non plurima hic videam quæ vel penitus sublata vel in melius mutata quovis pretio vellem, tamen aliqua etiam in hac temporum facie occurrere, optimis etiam seculis digna, et quæ ipsa primæva Ecclesia Christiana probare, ne dicam et laudare, potuisset, et tu æquissime agnoscis et nos nobis gratulamur.

NO. XXII.

TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN,

Speaking of Bishop Davenant's opinion as agreeable to his own.

July, 1713.

UTINAM sic sentiremus omnes! Et, fundamentalibus religionis articulis semper salvis, nihil ultra ab aliquo subscribendum requireremus, quod bonorum hominum conscientiis oneri esse potest, certe Ecclesiæ utilitatem parum promovebit. Ut enim de hac Ecclesiarum Reformatarum utilitate paucis dicam. Primum earum stabilimentum in hoc consistere ut omnes sese, quantum fieri possit, contra Papalem potentiam ac tyrannidem tueantur, nemini credo, dubium esse possit. Ut in hunc finem quam arctissime inter se uniantur, et in idem corpus coalescant; adeo ut siquid aliqua ex iis Ecclesiæ damni aut detrimenti a communi hoste fuerit illatum, id ab omnibus tanquam suum haberetur, concedi etiam necesse est.

Ut denique pax et concordia cujuslibet Ecclesiæ Reformatæ inter suos, ac cum aliis omnibus ejusmodi Ecclesiis conservetur; unicuique viro bono, sed præsertim Ecclesiarum illarum magistratibus atque ministris totis viribus enitendum esse, adeo clare apparet, ut nulla probatione firmiori indigeat.

Afterward.

Quid in hac re aliud faciendum restat, nisi ut tua et amicorum tuorum auctoritate primo facultas vestra Theologica, Magistratus, Ministri, Cives Genevenses; deinde eorum exemplo atque hortatu reliqua etiam fœderis Helvetici membra Reformatæ omnem lapidem moveant, ut pacem Ecclesiis Bernensibus restituant? Neque id ego sic fieri vellem, ut non simul et religionis veritati et doctrinæ puritati consulatur. Subscribant Ministri, Professores, Theo-

logi, Confessioni vestræ veteri, anno editæ. Prohibeantur, sub quavislibet pœna, ne ullam in concionibus, scriptis, thesibus, prælectionibus sententiam publice tucantur illi confessioni quovis modo contrarium. Id solum caveatur, ne multiplicentur hujusmodi subscriptiones absque necessitate; neque stricte nimis inquiratur in privatas hominum eruditorum sententias; modo suis opinionibus frui pacifice velint; et neque docendo, neque disputando, neque scribendo, a publica confessione secedere, aut errores suos, si tamen errores revera fuerint, in scandalum cujusvis, multo magis Ecclesiæ aut Reipublicæ divulgare. Habes, vir spectatissime, sententiam meam.

NO. XXIII.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO PROFESSOR SCHURER AT BERNE.

July, 1719.

QUÆ de formula Consensus mihi narras, abunde placeant; qui uti nolim laqueum absque causa injici conscientiis bonorum atque eruditorum hominum; ita neque fræna laxanda censeo quibuscunque novatoribus ad pacem publice turbandam; eaque vel scribenda vel docenda, quæ viris piis jure scandalum præbeant, quæque Confessioni vestræ olim stabilitæ falsitates notam injuria inurere videantur. Intra hos igitur limites si steterint Magistratus vestri, neque aliquid amplius a Lausannensibus requirant, nisi ut hoc demum sine formulæ Consensus subscribant; sperandum est nullum schisma, ea de causa, inter vos exoriturum. Pacem publicam tueri, etiam in rebus ad fidem spectantibus, Magistratus Christianus et potest et debet. Conscientiis hominum credenda imponere, nisi in rebus clavis et perspicuis, et ad salutem omnino necessariis nec potest, nec debet. Quod si contra faciat, subditis tamen semper licet ad Apostolorum exemplar, si quidem aliquid falsi, aut incertæ veritatis iis subscribendum injunxerint, obedire Deo potius quam hominibus.

NO. XXIV.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR TURRETIN, IN ANSWER TO ONE FROM HIM, DATED

December 1, 1718.

RES Bernensium Ecclesiasticas nondum penitus tranquillitas esse et doleo et miror; eoque magis, quod hisce

temporibus hæ decretis divinis altercationes ubique fere alibi ad exitum sint perductæ. Quæ mea sit de iis sententia, nec adhuc cuiquam aperte declaravi, neque, ut deinceps patefaciam, facile me patiar induci. Hoc apud nos, tum ex mandatis regiis, tum ex diu servata, utinam semper servanda, consuetudine fixum est atque stabilitum, neque a quoquam exquirere quid de his rebus sentiat, modo articulis religionis, publica auctoritate constitutis, subscribat; neque in concionibus aut etiam disputationibus theologicis, aliquid amplius de iis determinare, quàm quod illi articuli expresse statuunt et ab omnibus ad Ministerii munus admittendis profitendum requirant.

Then follows an historical narrative of the rise, and occasion and censure, of the Lambeth articles; as also of the rise and progress of Arminianism under the reign of James I. and Charles I. and of the subsiding of all disputes of that kind under Charles II. He then subjoins;

Et quidem illud imprimis observatu dignum æstimo, quam moderate, quam prudenter, in hac tam difficili disquisitione, optimi illi viri, martyres ac confessores Christi constantissimi, quos Divina Providentia ad Reformandam hanc nostram Ecclesiam seligere dignatus est, se gesserunt. Non illi curiositati cujusvis aliquid indulgendum putarunt; non sed incertis hominum hypothesibus de decretis divinis alicujus fidem alligare fas esse censuerunt. Sciebant quam inscrutabilia sint consiliæ Dei; et quanto intervallo omnes nostras cogitationes exuperent. Ideoque non religiose minus quam sapienter inter justos terminos sese continuerunt; neque in necessariis ad fidem nostram de hisce mysteriis stabiliendam deficientes; neque in non-necessariis determinandis officiosi; unde forte pro vera fide errorem, pro pace discordiam, pro fraterna unione ac charitate divisionem, odia, inimicitias in Ecclesiam Christi inducere poterant.

Hæc fuit eorum simplicitas vere evangelica; pietate non minus quam sapientia commendabilis; eoque magis suspicienda, ac fere pro divina habenda, quod tot annorum experientia reperta sit non solum optimam fuisse pacis ac concordie regulam, verum etiam unicum contra schismata et divisiones remedium.

Speaking afterward of the Consensus, he adds :

Sunt igitur horum articulorum pars maxima illius generis, in quibus ab invicem dissentire nobis omnibus liceat, absque dispendio veritatis. Quia sunt ejusmodi de quibus Deus consilium suum non adeo clare aut præcise revelaverit, quin etiam eruditissimi atque perspicacissimi viri in suis de iis determinationibus errare possint, aut potius nunquam certi esse possunt se non erasse. Quid vero imprudentius, quid arrogantius, quid denique humilitate, non jam dico Christianorum, sed et hominum non nimium sibi blandientium indignius esset, quam de rebus adeo obscuris, adeo incertis, adeo inter ipsos ejusdem Communionis Symmystas adhuc litigatis, distincte aliquid definire; et ab aliis auferre eam quam nos nobis quasi jure nostro asserimus sentiendi libertatem, O quantum potuit insana *φιλαντία*! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido! Benedictus Deus, qui alium plerumque, in hoc nostro orbe, animum indiderit!

NO. XXV.

ARCHBISHOP WAKE'S LETTER TO MR. JABLONSKI, IN ANSWER TO THE TWO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS;

An de Unione Evangelicorum cum Ecclesia Romana agendum sit?

Vel,

An omnis ea de Re Tractatio tanquam periculosa et fallax omnino sit evitanda?

Quod de fœdere nescio quo cum Pontificiis incedendo scribis somniare temerarios quosdam apud vos homines sue tranquillitatis magis quam veritatis amatores; non possum non mirari ecquod inde commodi Ecclesiis Reformatis proponunt. Adeone ulli e nostris aut incognita aut inexperta est Romanensium superbia atque tyrannis, ut credatur vel illos a suo fastigio potestatis, ac infallibilitatis, nostri gratia, sese dimissuros, vel nos eorum causa ad servitutem tam diu rejectam ultro iterum redituros? Hoc tam perniciosum, tam infame facinus, ab animis omnium nostrorum longe avertat Deus! Imo potius bona, patriam, parentes, omnia relinquamus quam ut sic inveniamur *ἐτεροζυγίζοντες ἀπίστους*; quidni enim ipsis hic Apostoli vocibus utar?

Neque tamen sic intelligi vellem quasi omnem omnino de pace tractatum etiam cum Pontificiis refugiendum pu-

tarem. Tractemus, si libet; sed ut decet, cum æqualibus. Neque aut nos in illos potestatem indebitam nobis arrogemus, neque illis in nos concedamus. Christiani sunt illi? et nos Christiani. Catholici? et nos Catholici. Errare nos possumus? etiam illi possunt errare. Liberi sunt illi a dominio nostro? neque nos illis ulla in re subditi sumus. Si igitur cum illis omnino sit agendum, ante omnia necesse fuerit in prævias conditiones tractandi convenire; utque mutuo statuatur, nullam esse inter eos vel inter nos infallibilitatis prærogativam, alterutri nostrum a Christo concessam. Posse utrinque errari, forte et utrinque erratum esse. Utrorumque ergo dogmata libere examinanda, et ad amussim verbi Dei exigenda. Renuntiandum insuper pretensæ auctoritati tum summi quem vocant Pontificis, tum Ecclesiæ Romanæ in alias Christi Ecclesias; ut sic, ab eorum dominatione tuti, ex æquo cum illis agere possimus. De pluribus atque præcipuis Doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus, in quibus utrinque consentimus, nulla lis erit. De cæteris consideretur imprimis quousque invicem concordari valeat; et in quibus nondum in eandem sententiam concurriri potest, quærat porro, an talia sint, quæ salva pace mutuo tolerari nequeant. Si hoc conveniatur, quærat denique de Liturgia Publica, an talem nobis exhiberi curabunt, ut omnes simul ad eundem Dei cultum amice accedere valeamus. Si qui sint Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symmystæ adeo æqui, ut his conditionibus sincere nobiscum agere velint, non video cur ab eorum colloquio abstinemus. Absque hujusmodi stipulatione præmissa frustra cum iis tractabimus; nisi sub pacis conciliandæ prætextu veritatem renuntiare decreverimus.

Habes, vir clarissime, meam qualemcunque hac de re sententiam. Extemporaneam quidem illam, nec pro materiæ dignitate satis ponderatam; sed tamen justam, et, nisi ego plurimum fallor, talem a qua absque extremo periculo nunquam a nostris discedi possit. Faxit Deus, ut in hisce considerandis non tam nostra quæramus quam ea quæ sint Jesu Christi! Nec adeo hujus seculi pacem amemus, ut futuri præmia amittamus. Tibi, vir præstantissime, sapientiam, prudentiam, eruditionem non vulgarem concessit Deus; etiam constantiam in veritate tuenda, pro qua tanta et huc usque passus fueris, et deinceps pati te paratum ostendis. Tuo itaque exemplo alios instruas, neque concordiam atque unionem cum illis Christi discipulis

ubi justis conditionibus iniri possit, pertinaceter refugere ; neque iniquis conditionibus stolide timideve, admittere ; aut vana spe pacis deliniti, ad servitutis Papalis jugum colla submittere, quod neque nos, neque patres nostri ferre potuerunt. Hoc tam grave scandalum, tam perniciosam prævaricationem ab Ecclesiis Reformatis ut semper avertat Deus, summo ardore precatur,

Spectatissime Vir,

Frater tuus in Christo colendissimus, &c.

Maii 22, 1719,

CAUTIONARY NOTES

TO

THE READERS OF DR. MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY SAMUEL JONES, D. D.

ALTHOUGH I hold Dr. Mosheim in high esteem for historical abilities, erudition and candour, generally speaking, yet think it might be of use for the reader to bear in mind the following particulars.

1. He seems to consider the church of Rome as the true church, or the church of Christ, at least until the Reformation, although she had become, for centuries, Mystery Babylon, and the Man of Sin, &c.

2. All that deviated from her and bore testimony against her corruptions, before Luther, and many of those after, he brands with the most hateful names, such as heretics, schismatics, sectaries, fanatics, faction, pests, holders of pestilential errors, motley tribe, detestable fanatics, &c. &c.

3. At the same time many of these sectaries, according to his own account, carried the reformation much farther than Luther, and from better motives, though not with equal success.

4. The account we have of these sectaries is chiefly from their enemies, which abates much of its credit.

5. Many of these sectaries were Baptists, for hundreds of years back, though they were known by various other names.

6. Although he allows that dipping was the ancient and primitive mode of Baptism, yet he inveighs more bitterly against the Baptists than any other sect.

7. The Arminians, Arians and Socinians, he treats with considerable respect.

8. He often speaks of the bishops and other prelates as pious and learned, while in other places he inveighs against them for ignorance, and every species of wickedness.

9. The conversion of the heathen he considers as a pious work, though it was often effected by fraud, intrigue, fire and sword; and the converts, such as they were, deprived of their liberty, and subjected to the tyranny of the church.

10. He intimates that the Baptists were unfavourable to magistrates and penal laws, but gives no authority.

11. That the Baptists require no explicit or circumstantial declaration of their religious sentiments, from those that enter into their communion, as he says, is equally unfounded.

12. That our author is not perfectly candid, consistent and accurate on all occasions, has been observed by his translator.

PHILADELPHIA, 4th MONTH, 10th. 1811.

[THE following Vindication was published at the end of the edition of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, printed in Philadelphia in 1800. It is but just to remark, that, as far as regards the religious society called Quakers, the translation of A. Maclaine is very faulty ; the translator has interwoven his own sentiments in such a manner with those of the original author, both in the notes and in the text, that it is impossible for a mere English reader to distinguish them ; and in divers instances, he has entirely contradicted him. This will be evident to all, if a literal translation of Mosheim shall ever be published.*

JONATHAN EVANS.
SAMUEL P. GRIFFITTS.]



VINDICATION OF THE QUAKERS.



TO THE EDITORS OF THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION OF MOSHEIM'S ECCLE-
SIASTICAL HISTORY.



AN American edition of MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY being nearly completed, in which is contained a very false account of the principles, doctrine, and discipline of our religious society ; a very erroneous character of George Fox, and divers other misrepresentations and untrue charges ; and although full answers and refutations of these calumnies have been heretofore published, yet as this work may fall into the hands of persons unacquainted with the true state of facts, we think it a point of justice due to the cause of truth and to our religious society, and for the information of candid and unprejudiced minds, briefly to give what from authentic histories and our own knowledge we are ascertained is a just narration.

Men who consider themselves accountable for their words and actions, and think it highly criminal to deceive

* The editor of the present edition, since the above note was sent for publication, has obtained a literal and accurate translation, from a Latin 4to. copy in the library at Cambridge. And, by comparing it with A. Maclaine's translation, discovers that Mr. M. has taken an unauthorised freedom with his author ; and, in many instances, been very profuse in invective.

To a candid reader it would evidently appear, that Mr. Maclaine "has interwoven his own sentiments" with unusual prejudice and acrimony.

others, by either disguising or falsification, who are well informed and acquainted with the facts and subjects they relate or write upon, are entitled to greater credit than professed and avowed opposers, who from mistaken motives publish distortions and misconstructions. From the misrepresentations and wrong accounts given by our adversaries, we have no doubt Mosheim has taken most of his narrative.

The true character of George Fox has been drawn by men of the first respectability and the fullest information; men who were conversant with him from his youth to his close; and a cloud of witnesses and authentic testimonies can be produced to prove, that he was a pious, sober, solid and exemplary man, and no fanatic; eminently qualified for the work he was raised up to promote. As we wish to be brief, we shall omit recurring to other documents, and only cite a few sentences from a preface to George Fox's Journal, written by William Penn, as follows: "He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own.

"He was of an innocent life, no busy body nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical. So meek, contented, modest, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company.

"As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God. For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, a new and heavenly minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where.

"Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived, so he died, feeling in his last moments the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him."

Instead of the first association of Quakers "being mostly composed of visionary fanatics, and of persons that really seemed to be disordered in their brains," William Penn, in his aforesaid preface, gives the names of a number of eminent men who became members, of this society, and who were instrumental with many others, in spreading and propagating the doctrines which they had espoused, and also of establishing a discipline and church government which

must be allowed to be a compact and well regulated system of good order.

The charge of their "running like bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming against episcopacy, presbyterianism and every fixed form of religion, &c. trampling upon the laws, and making use of their pretended inspirations to excite the most vehement commotions both in church and state," and divers other scandalous aspersions, we deny.

That tumults were raised by their opposers, is very true, and also that they refused complying with laws which they conceived as violating the rights of conscience; but that in any one instance they offered violence to the person of any man, or departed from their peaceable testimony, is false. That they bore beatings, imprisonment and death, with patience, meekness and perseverance, praying for their enemies, is a fact indisputable and of great notoriety; so that in time, when the clouds of prejudice were dissipated, and their innocence fully manifested, way was made in the minds of rulers for their toleration; and this may with truth be said, that such of them as keep true to their principles, are as good members of civil society as any other people, and have never been found in any plots or combinations against the governments, which, in the course of providence, have been set over them.

The conduct of James Naylor, in his dark and bewildered state, we freely condemn; but his punishment was rigorous in the extreme. That two or three weak persons were deluded and paid a sort of divine honour to him, is confessed; but that this was in any degree countenanced by our religious society, is positively denied; but on the contrary, was fully reprobated by them. Although James Naylor had lamentably missed his way, yet we have reason to believe, he was, through divine mercy, restored to a sound mind. He published a condemnation of his misconduct, and we reverently hope he died in peace with God and love to all men.

As to the absurd story of "one of these people going to the parliament house with a drawn sword, and wounding several, and saying he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house," it is a very fiction, and we deny that any acknowledged member among us ever was guilty of such conduct.

We have also made diligent search, and cannot find any account of a female going naked, as mentioned in the same note, and believe it is untrue.

That George Keith was a man of learning and a member of our society, and wrote several pieces in support of our tenets, is true; but that he gave way to a contentious spirit, and endeavoured to lay waste what he himself had assisted to build up; and was, after much patient labour and forbearance disowned by friends, we acknowledge; and that an opposition was made to the establishment of meetings for discipline, by some through ignorance, who afterward saw their error and condemned it, and by others from mistaken motives; but that our fundamental opinions have been the same from the first promulgation of them, we confidently assert.

We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine original, and give full credit to the historical facts, as well as the doctrines therein delivered; and never had any doubt of the truth of the actual birth, life, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as related by the evangelists, without any mental or other reserve, or the least diminution, by allegorical explanation; and there is not, nor ever has been, any essential difference in faith or practice between Friends in Europe and America; but a correspondence is regularly maintained, and love, harmony and unity have been preserved down to this day; and we hope and believe, under divine favour, nothing will be able to scatter or divide us.

We do not wish to meddle with those called mystics, or to adopt many of their expressions. We presume there were sincerely religious people among them; but we think religion is a simple thing, the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men; and as to our tenets and history we refer to Fox, Barclay, Penn, Sewel, Gough, &c. and declare, that we never had, nor now have, any other doctrines to publish, and that there are no religious opinions or practices among us which have not been made known to the world.

When any person by submitting to the influence and operation of the Spirit of God, becomes thereby qualified, and is called to the work of the ministry, after having made full proof thereof to the satisfaction of the congregation, he or she is accepted and recommended as such: but as to

any person being appointed with a stipend, small or great, or preparing a sermon to be delivered in our meetings, to be previously examined, or without such examination, there never was any such practice among us. Our ministers, elders, overseers, and other friends appointed to religious services, receive no pecuniary pay, but spend their time and their own money freely on such occasions, at home and abroad ; yet proper attention is given to those in low or poor circumstances of every description, besides contributing our full proportion to the support of the general poor. Equally untrue is the insinuation that we are ashamed of our silent meetings, having experienced them to be both profitable and refreshing, as by waiting on the Lord, we renew our strength in him.

Having referred to divers books for further information respecting us, and a more minute refutation of the other false charges, we shall content ourselves at present with this general answer.

Signed by direction and in behalf of a meeting representing the religious society called Quakers in Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, &c. held in PHILADELPHIA, the 22d. of 11th. Month, 1799.

JOHN DRINKER, CLERK.

NEW BEDFORD, 12th MONTH 9, 1811

SAMUEL ETHERIDGE, JUN^R.

Respected Friend,

WE are authorized by the representative body of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, who, as a standing committee, have the general care of whatever may arise affecting the society, during the intervals of that meeting; to request of thee, that in order to refute some of the gross misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, contained in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, now republishing by thyself, thou wilt be so obliging as to annex to that work some extracts which we now forward to thee, together with a short Summary of our History, Doctrine and Discipline, as printed in London, in the year 1800. We feel desirous, that the Summary should be added, in the hope, that future Historians, finding it in connexion with so celebrated a work, will be so candid as to give our own account of our principles, rather than to take the account from those who were wanting either in knowledge, or liberality toward us.

We are,

very respectfully,

thy friends,

ELISHA THORNTON.

THOMAS ARNOLD.

SAMUEL RODMAN.

WILLIAM ROTCH, jun^r.

THOMAS HOWLAND.

THE following corrections of the MISREPRESENTATIONS, principally of the Translator, of Mosheim, were written by gentlemen who had not (all of them) seen the preceding Vindication of the Quakers, which was penned in Philadelphia. This will account for the repetition of the same things, which, in a few instances, appears.

REFUTATION, &c.*

OF MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE

QUAKERS.

It is not to be wondered at, that Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, should have said some things amiss, among the many things which he has said; and as his work is much read, and in general deservedly admired, his ill report extends further, and does more injury, than that of an inferior author. What degree of credit is to be given to that part, which treats of the Society called Quakers, will, I hope, appear from the following remarks; in making which, I wish to acquit him of ill will, and to allow for his want of personal acquaintance with his subject, and the strangeness with which the simplicity of a Friend must appear in the eye of a Lutheran.

His account of our origin, needlessly inserted in his history of the Arminians, wherein we are compared to a rank weed, springing up from the neglect of reason, may be passed over, as a rhetorical flourish; inserted to fill up the antithesis, or to serve as a foil to relieve the subject on which he was treating. But, when he makes us his more immediate theme, in whatever he is deficient, or whatever foreign matter he may have allowed himself to add, we have a right to expect, that in his assertions he be well founded and accurate. In the following passages, taken from MacLaine's 8vo. English edit. of 1763, he appears to me to be, either ill informed, inaccurate, or liable to a charge of malevolence, which it is not pleasant to bring against so learned and instructive an author. In page 29, line 2, the Quakers are said to have made use of their pre-

* The following is taken from a small 12mo. vol. by Joseph Garney Bevan; entitled, "A Refutation of some Modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, &c. &c. Printed in London, in 1800.

tended inspiration to excite the "most vehement commotions in church and state." Now I appeal to the page of English history, and defy any man to show that in the state, any commotions were ever excited by these people, much less if that were possible, through design. Whitelock, a member of parliament, and a circumstantial recorder of transactions at the time of which Mosheim treats, although he now and then mentions the Quakers, relates no commotion to which they gave rise. As to the church, it is possible, she might be troubled at seeing her authority disputed; but as the avowed ground of all dissent is the apprehension of error in the establishment from which it separates, the Friends must be contented with the common lot of Reformers, as to the public opinion.

The next ill founded, or unfounded, assertion of which I shall take notice, is in page 30, line 14, &c. where Mosheim confederates Barclay, Keith, and Fisher, into a triumvirate, in order to raise that beautiful fabric of our discipline, which he seems to think could never have arisen from what he calls the gross ignorance of Fox. As I may have future occasion to vindicate George Fox's memory from this and other aspersions, it will here only be necessary to seek for the authority on which Mosheim rests his assertions. As he cites none, and in citations he is generally liberal, it is not very unfair to suppose he had none; but as the discipline has been an object of admiration, and George Fox an object of contempt, it was difficult to believe that it had him for its author; and therefore not unnatural to ascribe it to others. Nevertheless, our own historical memoirs do not ascribe the establishment of the discipline, to either of those three persons. If we understand by discipline, either the setting up of the monthly meetings, or the mode of proceeding in them, we have no records from which we can even infer that Barclay, Keith, and Fisher, had any share in it; or that it was not chiefly, if not wholly, brought about by the means of Fox. Indeed it is from his works alone, that we have any clear account of the business. He describes circumstantially his journeys through England, for the purpose of establishing monthly meetings. It was in 1667, the year in which Barclay, then nineteen years old, joined the Society; and whose youth therefore, both as a man and a Friend, makes it improbable he should so soon be a colleague of George

Fox. As to Samuel Fisher, he died in 1665, in prison, where he had been about a year and a half; and of about the last four years of his life he was three years and a half in different prisons.*

As to the rules of the society, whoever will consult the printed collection of them,† will see that they have flowed from time to time, from the yearly meeting itself; but much of the substance of them is to be found in Fox's epistles of 1668, and 1669, in the collection of them printed in 1698, when his memory was still fresh. Penn's account is dated 1694. Fox died in 1690.

The assertion, at page 42, line 20, that they never salute any person they meet by the way, is entirely false. False also is it, that they refuse to appear on behalf of their property before a civil tribunal. These circumstances are mentioned, untrue as they are, as proofs of an austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit. The tame relinquishing of their property, and non-resistance of injury, are however ill adduced as a proof of stiffness; nor are the rustic simplicity of their apparel, and the frugality of their tables, mentioned just after, much better selected as instances of their pride. Such are the inconsistencies of writers who meddle with that which they do not thoroughly understand, or investigate.

One thing more is asserted respecting the elders, in these words "It is well known that in some places these speakers, the ministers, show their discourses to the ruling elders, before they deliver them," &c. Which the places are, is not mentioned; but this I may say, that such a practice is not as Mosheim says, "well known;" and, as one who hath been, for many years, intimately acquired with the concerns of one large meeting, and much in the way of knowing the general practices of the body, and of those relating to ministers and elders in particular, I may add, that I never knew of any such practice. It may further be noted, that the story supposes our preachers to write their discourses; a thing entirely disapproved by the society, and repugnant to our principles.

With two more gross misrepresentations I intend to close this part of my remarks on Mosheim. One is the account,

* Prefatory Epistle to Fisher's Works, by Ellis Hookes.

† Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting, from its first institution. 4to 1783.

that "there are in some of the most considerable congregations, and more especially in those that are erected in London, certain persons, whose vocation it is to be always prepared to speak to the people, to prevent meetings from being wholly silent." The other is that, "these appointed speakers have a small salary." From my long residence in London, the chief seat of this pretended provision, and personal acquaintance with all the ministers in it of our society, I can with confidence pronounce the first of these to be false; and, being false, the latter falls of course.

Sections VI. to XI. inclusive, give us the author's account of Quaker Doctrines. In these sections much is marked as quotation, but without reference to any author; and is, probably, not any creed of the Quakers, but, a creed for the Quakers, compiled out of the author's apprehension of their tenets. He sets out, in his career of description, with a similitude which he has found between the Quakers and the ancient Mystics; a comparison, however, which, on the whole, does our friends no injury, although it is not drawn with perfect accuracy. For it appears, from this very Ecclesiastical History, that whatever were the failings of the Mystics, they seem not only to have been repositories of genuine piety through the corrupt and dark ages of the church; but that in that period of it in which, says our author,* "its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity," "if any sparks of real piety subsisted," to continue the use of his own words, "they were only to be found among the Mystics. For this sect, renouncing the subtlety of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of perfection."

Some of the falsehoods of the Eleventh Section, at p. 42, have been already noted: it seems therefore only, but scarcely, necessary to observe, that if we take his account of Quaker morality altogether, it will not subject its professors to censure. First he tells us "that the faithful are to avoid every thing that tends to gratify the external

senses and passions," this however is no tenet of the Quakers, "or," and a useful word this *or* is, "such pleasure is to be so modified by reason and meditation, as to prevent its debasing and corrupting the mind." This latter alternative, which I believe no Friend will disclaim, is so much like what the apostle James calls, "to keep himself unspotted by the world," that if the poor Quakers do but also "visit the widows and fatherless in their affliction," it will be hard for such as our author to deny, that they have arrived at the substance of true religion.

I have already testified my readiness to believe that the account of our society by Mosheim, fraught as it is with inaccuracy, may, nevertheless, not be intentionally malevolent. It is to be remembered that he lived at a distance from the places where the members of the society which he was describing had their abode; and his literary friends in England were, probably, such as were themselves but little acquainted with our principles. This I am warranted in supposing, from having frequently observed how little even some of our countrymen, with whom we daily converse, enter into an examination of our motives; which, as formerly they had the lot to be misrepresented and traduced, because our manners were dissimilar to those of the age, and novel; so now these seem to have become too familiar, to excite much curiosity respecting the principles from which they arise. We are just considered as a good sort of people in the main, who refuse to fight, and to swear, and to pay tithes; and while the improved manners of the age allow that for these, and other singularities, we ought not to be molested, the public in general cares little further about us; and seldom inquires a reason of the hope that is in us. But the excuses which I willingly seek for Mosheim, I cannot so readily find for his translator. It behoved him when he found in his author so distorted a portrait, to have inquired, to have seen, whether it were a true resemblance of the original; and not himself to have heightened the caricature. Let us begin with his note respecting the character of Fox, whom he labours to represent as a man of a turbulent spirit. The first part of the note gives an account of an anonymous defender of the Quakers, who had represented Fox as a meek, contented, easy, steady man. The testimony of this author, Maclaine rejects, because he supposes him to draw his account from

Penn, who was intimate with Fox; and from Ellwood, who had been in his company. Maclaine however chooses to refer us to Sewel, from whose history he selects three instances of Fox's opposition to "ministers in the public celebration of divine service, at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Market Bosworth." I shall not stop long to inquire whether the sermon be a part of divine service; nor to admit that Fox frequently, in the early part of his career, did promulgate his doctrines in the public places for worship; but, as the passages are short, shall lay the words of Sewel before my readers. The transactions are all of the year 1649, and may therefore easily be found in any edition of Sewel. Mine is the first English one, 1722. Nottingham—he "went away to the steeple house, where the priest took for his text these words of the apostle Peter." "We have a most," probably a mistake for more,* "sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts." "And he told the people that this was the scripture, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. G. Fox hearing this, felt such mighty power and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out. O! no, it is not the scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments, are to be tried. That it was it, which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted him and his apostles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost. He thus speaking, the officers came and took him away and put him in a nasty stinking prison." Before I proceed, I would just remark how little Mosheim, when he said that the modern Quakers misapprehend the doctrines of their ancestors, &c. see his note at page 38, would have thanked his translator for referring to this passage. Sewel adds that the sheriff who examined Fox, [was so little apprehensive of his turbulence, that he] took him to his own house from the common prison; that he was so

* It seems by the way, not easy, in our translation to find a word which will express the meaning of the word "most" in this passage.

much affected with the interview, that he sent for a woman with whom he had traded, confessing that he had wronged her, and must make restitution ; and that he and some others were moved to exhort the people to repentance. Such were the effects of Fox's declaration, whether turbulent or otherwise.

The account Sewel gives of the transaction at Mansfield is this. " Whilst G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the steeple house, and declare there the truth to the priest and the people ; which doing, the people fell on him, and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they hauled him out, who was hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours ; and they having brought horsewhips, threatened to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates, at a knight's house ; who, seeing how ill he had been used, set him at liberty, after much threatening. But the rude multitude stoned him out of the town." Here was certainly turbulence ; but I think the passage not well adduced to prove it upon Fox.

Respecting Market Bosworth, Sewel gives this short relation ; " Coming into the public place of worship, he (G. F.) found Nathaniel Stephens preaching, who was priest of the town where G. Fox was born ; here G. Fox taking occasion to speak, Stephens told the people he was mad, and that they should not hear him ; though he had said before to one colonel Purfoy, concerning him, that there was never such a plant bred in England. The people now being stirred up by the priest, fell upon G. Fox, and his friends, and stoned them out of the town."

NOTES,*

PROPOSED TO BE ADDED TO THE REFUTATION OF MOSHEIM.

For a further historical correction of the account Mosheim has given of the Society, the inquiring reader may find in John Gough's History of the people called Quakers, London, printed 1789, a pretty full account of the difficulties occasioned by the defection and disownment of George Keith, by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia; also the doings of the Yearly Meeting of London, Vol. III. p. 333, 386, &c.

Also for the History of James Naylor's fall, treatment, recovery, and restoration to the Society, Vol. I. p. 236, &c. or to Joseph Gurney Beven's History of the Life of Naylor.

As Mosheim refers to the general, without saying what Dictionary, for the Life of Robert Barclay, the reader is referred to the account of that worthy man's life, published by William Penn and others, his contemporaries, at the beginning of the folio volume of his writings, 1692, comprised in about 40 pages.

As Mosheim refers to a German work for the life of Samuel Fisher, the English reader is referred to an interesting account of him, written by William Penn, annexed to a folio volume of Fisher's Works, printed 1679.

As mention is likewise made of Voltaire's four Letters concerning the Quakers, which composes a part of a splendid French work, the reader is referred to "a Letter from one of the people called Quakers to Francis de Voltaire," written for their correction, by Josiah Martin, London, second edition, 1742, in which are added, Interesting Extracts from a number of learned Writers, both ancient and modern, in support of the Truth and Friends.

For a correct account of the Faith of the people called Quakers, in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the reader is referred to Henry Tuke's Collection from the writings of Friends, ancient and modern, and from the Society; London, printed 1801.

For a more correct and full account of the moral principles, &c. of the Society, than is given by Mosheim, the reader is referred to Thomas Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism, printed in London and New-York, 1806.

* The above additional notes and references were sent for publication after the preceding and following matter was put in type, and in part printed, which prevented their being placed where they would have appeared to more advantage.

REMARKS
ON
THE ARTICLE QUAKERS,

BY ANOTHER HAND.

THE writer of these remarks, on a careful perusal of the history of the sect called Quakers, by Dr. Mosheim, was surprised to find his account of their principles and practises, in several particulars, so illy accord with the true character and principles of that society. And the result of further examination into their ancient history, has been a conviction, that the learned author has not given the history of the Quakers with his usual accuracy, if indeed with his usual candour. An apprehension has hence arisen in the writer, that, as truth is the object of all genuine history, he would be wanting in his devotion thereto, and to the feelings of his own mind, without attempting to correct some of its errors.

The same principles oblige him to remark, in justice to the author, that having perused an exact and literal translation of this article from the original Latin, he is convinced that the translator has used that liberty, which in his preface, he says he has taken, of "*adding a few sentences, to render an observation more striking, a fact more clear, a portrait more finished;*" but in such a way, however, in respect to the Quakers, as highly to aggravate the unfavourable account which the author himself had given; and that many of the most odious epithets, given the society in the translation, are not to be found in the original. As, for instance, George Fox, and his friends, "strolling" and "running like bacchanals through the towns and villages," page 147, 148.

One cannot, without surprise and regret, observe our eminent author instancing, note, page 147, the conduct of Naylor; of the woman, who, he says, went naked into the chapel at Whitehall. and of the man who "came to

the door of the parliament house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying he was inspired by the Holy Spirit, to kill every man that sat in that house." Even admitting the facts correctly stated, and that they were all professed Quakers, as examples of the conduct of that society, without making one distinguishing or qualifying observation, more especially when we recur to the very judicious observations he makes, in respect to the reflections, by some cast upon the Lutheran church with "a view to render them ridiculous, or odious," for the conduct of some of its particular members. "In the happiest times," says he, sect. 38, p. 55, "and in the best modelled communities, there will always remain sufficient marks of human imperfection; at least, in the imprudence and mistakes of some, and the impatience and severity of others, *but it must betray a great want of sound judgment, as well as candour and impartiality*, to form a general estimate of the state and character of a whole church, upon such particular instances of imperfection and error." But our regret is increased under a strong apprehension that our author in this, as in some other particulars, by implicitly following some of the polemical writers of the day, most inimical and invidious toward this society, has been incorrect, as to facts and circumstances, as well as the application of them; how otherwise could he have stated the man with a drawn sword, if indeed such an event took place, to have been a Quaker? a people, whom he elsewhere represents, as holding it a fundamental principle to reject the use of violence, and the sword, even in the most urgent cases of self defence; not only holding it speculatively, but as practically adhering to it in all their conduct. This consideration ought to have been sufficient to invalidate the charge, as against the society, even if it had not been publicly denied by them at the time; which circumstance, as well as those relating to the deviation of Naylor, never could have escaped the notice of our author, had he investigated with his usual accuracy, and with that candour and impartiality he so highly recommends; he would then have satisfactorily discovered, that Naylor's misconduct, to which he alludes, and that of his followers, who were few, was openly disapproved by George Fox at the time, and by the society in general; that Naylor himself soon after repented of, and publicly condemned it. But

we cannot impeach Dr. Mosheim's integrity and candour as an historian, so far as to suppose, that if he had investigated the circumstances with his usual industry and accuracy, he would have stained the character and memory of Naylor, who was, before and after that event to his death, esteemed a pious and religious man, and of no inferior talents, by recording that event *only* of his life, and that, without noticing his after condemnation of it, much less that he would have left it as a stain attached to the society which condemned it at the time.

The difficulty excited by George Keith, which is represented by our author, as the most *serious discord* among the Quakers, and as issuing in his excommunication and the reconciliation of his followers with their brethren, does not indicate a very unsound state of the religious body, or its being destitute of that principle of vitality, which most effectually facilitates the healing of wounds. And whilst our author prefers to connect their reconciliation with an "if we may believe public fame," when he might have rested on authentic history, it is remarkable that he useth no *if*, in asserting that Keith *returned* to the bosom of the *English Church*, which can hardly be truly said of a man that never went out *from it*; Keith having, previous to his joining the Quakers, been a presbyterian, and not a churchman. It is further remarkable, that neither our author, nor his translator, who, on the authority of Burnet, assigns a more worthy motive for his return, were able to mention a single Quaker; that Keith, "though by far the most learned member of the community," after labouring some years, and having prevailed as far as he saw any prospect of success, carried back with him to the bosom of the church. From this issue, then, of the "most serious discord among the Quakers," our author had no occasion to condole with them on the approaching "annihilation of their sect," however he might imagine he would have, "if reason gets in among them," note, page 148.

It may here pertinently be remarked, without pretending to decide whether Keith ever became a churchman in principle, or whether a country living was given him in his old age, as a reward for his indefatigable, though unsuccessful labours, to detach a portion of the Quakers from their religious communion; that it appears from the printed accounts of his disputations with the Quakers in Lon-

don, after his disownment, that he held he had ever been orthodox in the christian faith whilst walking among them; hence it became an easy task for them both to vindicate the principles which they really held, and to exculpate themselves from others before falsely charged upon them by their adversaries, and which he now revived against them, by quoting his own writings during that period; to which circumstance, as a means, may be in part owing, that though a number had at first adhered to him, he carried none eventually away. Whether Keith, during this period of labour in London, was converted to the principles of the church of England, and only feigned to hold his former principles as a Quaker, in order more effectually to succeed in carrying off some of them; or whether he really believed himself, as he said, to have been orthodox, and so was rewarded with a benefice, though a Quaker in principle, is not now material to inquire; yet one or the other of these we must believe to be true; unless we believe a sudden conversion took place at the period when these labours ceased, and the benefice was conferred.*

The limits of these remarks will not admit a correction of every error, but if the man and the woman, who predicted to the parliament and to Cromwell, their being broken to pieces, and the rending of the government from him and his house, with the emblematic breaking of the earthen vessel, and the tearing of the cap, really carried those messages under an apprehension of religious duty; there is nothing very objectionable in the manner; and if the other predictions of the Quakers in those days, which our author says were numerous, were as exactly and literally fulfilled, as those two he has selected, it might go far toward shaking the opinion of any candid and unprejudiced man, however strongly he might be fixed in the opinion, that all prophecy had ceased. There are however several misrepresentations of the principles and doctrine of this society so palpable and gross, and at the same time in points so im-

* When the foregoing was penned, the writer had never seen J. G. Bevan's "Vindication" on this subject: he observes, page 9; "As to poor Keith, Mosheim and his translator are at variance respecting the motives of what Mosheim calls his return to the bosom of the English church. His uniting with her, for it must be recollected that he had been a presbyterian, was more likely to have been occasioned, by the warmth of her bosom, to his declining years in a country living, than by exasperation at the disownment by the Friends, or reconciliation with a body, from which he apprehend he had never strayed."

portant, it would be doing too great injustice to pass them unnoticed.

In sect. vi. p. 153, of their religion in a general point of view, having adopted the opinion that their religion was merely a revival of that of the ancient mystics, it is very evident he has detailed his own ideas of their principles and doctrine for that of the Quakers; adhering so closely as scarcely ever to lose sight of their particular characteristic terms and phrases; whereas it is notorious to all acquainted with the style and writing of the Quakers, that *they* adhere with great strictness, in explaining their principles, to those of the holy scriptures; perhaps as considering them most intelligible to religious inquirers.

Whilst we consider some of his misrepresentations as resulting, it may be hoped innocently, from the above preconceived opinion, there is one thing which might escape an inattentive reader, yet tending greatly to mislead him, of which, if in the original, and not foisted into the later impressions by some other hand; it is scarcely possible to entertain a hope so favourable. In giving the Quaker principles, flowing from what he states to be their fundamental principle, the most he says is marked with the points of quotation. p. 156, & *seq.* and sometimes introduced with *they say*; thus conveying to the reader that he is using the language of the Quakers, or at least of their writers; which is entirely foreign from the truth. From the principles thus uncandidly introduced, he infers, sect. ix. p. 158, "that the existence of the man Christ Jesus, the account of his divine origin, &c. make no essential part of the theological system of the Quakers; that they reject the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ;" and that the American Quakers in particular, without ambiguity, "maintain publicly that Christ never existed but in the hearts of the faithful;" insinuating, indeed, that the European Quakers somewhat disguise their real sentiments upon this important point.

When one recurs, with an unbiassed and candid frame of mind, to the works of their most eminent and approved writers upon this subject, or to their continual reference, in their public discourses, to this part of the gospel history, or to their confession of faith, published about the year 1693, signed by a large number of their principal members, and which it appears our author had seen; it is dis-

difficult to account for this important misrepresentation, otherwise than by presuming he was destitute of personal acquaintance with the members of this society (living in Germany, remote from them) and that he had unhappily received an impression that their opinions upon this and some other important points were to be collected from the deductions and inferences drawn by their adversaries, with which he was more conversant, and not from their own approved authors, or even their public profession of their faith, by themselves as a religious body. Yet in the case of the arminians, (vol. iv. p. 130,) he candidly gives their opinions as professed by themselves, in their famous five articles; well observing at the same time, that some others pretended to enter into the secret of their hearts, and to insinuate that they had not truly represented their own religious opinions.

The reader will not be less surprised at the motives assigned for the European Quakers thus disguising their opinions, than at the misrepresentation of the fact; that a religious body, whom our author represents, page 149, as braving the power of Cromwell, "treating with contempt, his promises and threats;" and who shrunk not from the severer persecutions of the following reign, should, after the revolution, when their religion, with that of other dissenters, was tolerated by statute, be left to disguise their real opinions through fear of the "civil and ecclesiastical powers," p. 152, is neither probable nor credible. Thus one error frequently begets another; having attributed to the Quakers an opinion they never held, he is put to a conjecture equally erroneous and incredible for a cause why they should disguise it. As flowing from the same principles he asserts that, with other outward forms of devotion, they "reject the use of prayers," page 158, which would be too notoriously erroneous to require a correction here, were not this work likely to pass into the hands of many who have never had an opportunity personally to witness their frequent recourse to oral supplication in their meetings for divine worship, and which has ever been their practice from the beginning to the present day; not to mention their many publications, treating of the duty of prayer, and of the true and acceptable manner of performing the same.

The literary works of Barclay and Penn remain to speak

for themselves ; are durable monuments of their talents, as well as of their piety and religion ; and even had they not received the encomiums of many of the first characters among other societies, would probably remain unshaken by the attacks of a host of enemies. It may be proper here, as an evidence of his prejudice, to point out an instance of the reluctance with which Maclaine partially accedes to the ingenious and candid testimony of Dr. Tillotson, in acquitting Penn of the imputation of popery, to the reports of which he had at one time listened ; Maclaine says, “ that the imputation of popery was groundless, appears from his correspondence with Dr. Tillotson ;” but adds, “ it is nevertheless certain, he was very intimate with father Peters, the hotheaded jesuit ;” yet in the same correspondence Penn says to Dr. Tillotson, “ for the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession, I have not only no such thing with any jesuit at Rome, though a protestant may have without offence, but I hold none with any jesuit, priest, or regular in the world, of that communion, and that the doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, *I know not one any where* ;” to which Dr. Tillotson replies, “ and I do now declare, with great joy that I am fully satisfied that there was no just grounds for that suspicion, and therefore I do heartily beg your pardon for it.”* Thus have we the positive declaration of Penn, corroborated by the testimony of Dr. Tillotson, to weigh against the ipse dixit of the translator, who quotes no authority, and who elsewhere affords sorrowful and abundant evidence of his disposition to defame the Quakers.

Dr. Mosheim has in several instances endeavoured to impress the reader with the idea, that the ancient and modern Quakers were entirely different people, both in respect to their principles and conduct ; this is the more worthy of notice, as it is an error not by any means peculiar to him ; but which in degree prevails very generally. We view the modern Quakers with our own proper vision, and through a medium cleared from the discolourations of that through which we view the ancient ; and they appear to us a quiet, orderly, moral, and religious people ; but in the accounts transmitted to us by their enemies, we view the ancient Quakers through a discoloured medium, a vis-

* Penn's Works, vol. i. folio. London edition, 1726, p. 128, 129.

ion extremely acrimonious and tinged with bile, and they appear to us fanatic, turbulent, and riotous.

If we were to imagine to ourselves the modern Quakers, passing through our country as they actually do ; seeking and conversing with sober inquirers, appointing meetings for religious worship ; and if at the same time we were to imagine a mob of dissolute and enraged rabble at their heels, scoffing and beating them with sticks and stones to interrupt their meetings, without the least marks of violence or even defensive resistance to any on their part. if we imagine some unworthy ministers and magistrates rather instigating their fury, the latter sending them to prison, charged with the riots to which themselves had been accessory ; the Quakers submitting to all with patience unconquerable, yet pursuing their mission with undeviating perseverance, not to be paralleled in history since the days of the first promulgators of the Christian faith ; we might then perhaps view a true picture of the ancient Quakers ; their principles, their doctrine, and their manners being the same. For as we now see some of them whose manners, language, and address, is somewhat more polished than that of others, the same was the case among their ancient friends and owing to the same accidental circumstances of education, residence, and social intercourse.

Perhaps we have only one step more to advance, in order to obtain a pretty correct opinion of the ancient as well as modern Quakers ; and that is, to overcome, through homage to the truth, a certain degree of self interest which almost all mankind feel in the reputation of their forefathers. We feel a difficulty in believing that the ancient Quakers were such as we see the modern to be, lest a suspicion should arise, that some of our forefathers may not have been good christians ; but to make this the more easy, we ought to recollect that those who have employed themselves to manufacture and to transmit to posterity this bear's covering for the society, were comparatively but few ; that many of our forefathers of superior grade for intelligence, for religion and candour, viewed them as we view the Quakers now, and endeavoured to shield them from sufferings ; that many more, though not distinguished by resisting the torrent of the times, yet treated them with charity and kindness ; we might instance the learned and upright chief justice Hale, not to mention judge Fell. who shielded them.

to the utmost his office as a dispenser of the law, would admit, and whose family united with the society. And what episcopalian of the present day would choose to follow the comparatively narrow minded Burnet, in preference to the far more enlightened, pious, intelligent, and discriminating Tillotson ?

A

SUMMARY

OF THE

HISTORY, DOCTRINE, AND DISCIPLINE,

OF

I

FRIENDS;

WRITTEN AT THE DESIRE OF

THE

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS IN LONDON,

1800.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH more than a century hath elapsed since we became a distinct religious society ; yet, from several causes, our principles at this day are frequently either not understood, or misrepresented. Many books, explanatory of our tenets and practices, have indeed been published by authors of our own profession. Some of these are more diffuse than every reader hath leisure or inclination to peruse ; others, more compendious, do not extend to all the particulars which we ourselves wish to be known, or with which inquirers may desire to be acquainted. It is therefore judged expedient to present to such as are disposed to be rightly informed respecting us, a summary account of our origin and history, of our doctrines, and of our discipline ; which may give the reader a true, though general, representation ; and then, as leisure or inclination may allow or induce him, he may render his knowledge of us, and of our principles more particular, by having recourse to some of the publications already hinted at. To such a purpose, among others, the works of George Fox, William Sewel, William Penn, and Robert Barclay are well adapted ; and to those who may be thus induced to inquire into our principles, we would also recommend the example of the Bereans, who examined the Holy Scriptures to find if “ those things were so.”*

It may however be remarked, that the Gospel, which we believe to be the highest as well as the last dispensation of God to man, can never be so well understood, as when it is considered as having the boundless love of the Great Creator for its cause, and the salvation of the whole human race for its end and aim.

It seems to be time for the sincere in heart to wave the ceremonials of religion, concerning which there hath been enough of contention and animosity, for the sake of its essence. In proportion as men are gathered to the one thing needful, the government of Christ’s Spirit in the heart, they lose the inclination for contention, and are in the true way to unity. Then can they breathe forth the primitive and permanent gospel language, “ Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men.”†

* Acts xvii. 11.

† Luke ii. 14.

A
SUMMARY
OF
THE DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, &c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century is known to have been a time of great dissension in England, respecting religion. Many pious persons had been dissatisfied with the settlement of the Church of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Various societies of Dissenters had accordingly arisen ; some of whom evinced their sincerity by grievous sufferings, under the intolerance of those who governed church affairs.^a But these societies, notwithstanding their honest zeal, seem to have stopped short in their progress toward a complete reformation ;^b and, degenerating into formality, to have left their most enlightened members still to lament the want of something more instructive and consolatory to the soul, than the most rigorous observance of their ordinances had ever produced. Thus dissatisfied and disconsolate, they were ready to follow any teacher, who seemed able to direct them to that light and peace of which they felt the need. Many such in succession engaged their attention ; until, finding the insufficiency of them all, they withdrew from the communion of every visible church ; and dwelt retired, and attentive to the inward state of their own minds ; often deeply distressed for the want of that true knowledge of God, which they saw to be necessary for salvation, and for which, according to their ability, they fervently prayed. These sincere breathings of spirit being answered by the extension of some degree of heavenly consolation, they became convinced, that as the heart of man is the scene of

^a Sewel, p. 5, 6. edit. 1722.

^b Penn, vol. 5, p. 211, 212. edit. 1782.

the tempter's attacks, it must also be that of the Redeemer's victory. With renewed fervency, therefore, they sought his appearance in their minds ; and thus being renewedly furnished with his saving light and help, they not only became instructed in the things pertaining to their own salvation ; but they discovered many practices in the world which have a show of religion, to be nevertheless the effect of the unsubjected will of man, and inconsistent with the genuine simplicity of the truth.

These people were at first hidden from each other, and each probably conceived his own heart to be the single repository of a discovery so important ; but it did not consist with divine goodness, that the candle thus lighted should always remain under the bed, or the bushel.^c Our honourable elder, G. Fox, who had signally experienced the afflicting dispensations which we have described, and had also been quickened by the immediate touches of divine love, could not satisfy his apprehensions of duty to God, without bearing public testimony against the common modes of worship, and directing the people where to find the like consolation and instruction.^d As he travelled in this service, he met with divers of those seeking persons who had been exercised in a similar manner ; these readily received his testimony ; several of them also became preachers of the same doctrine ;^e multitudes were convinced of the reality of this inward manifestation ;^f and many meetings were settled.

Those who attempt to detach the people from the teachings of men, must expect for their enemies those men who make a gain of teaching. Such was the lot of our first friends ; and laws, made either in the times of popery, or since the reformation against non-conformists, served as the means of gratifying the jealousy of the priests, and the intolerance of the magistrates. Indeed, at the time Friends first attracted public notice, legal pretences were not always thought necessary to justify the abuse which they suffered.^g It was during the time of the commonwealth, when opposition to a national ministry which was supposed to be peculiarly reformed, was deemed an offence of no small import. Much personal abuse was accordingly bestowed ;^h

^c Mark iv. 21. ^d Fox's Journal, p. 14, 15, 21. edit. 1765. ^e Ibid 49.

^f 1 Cor. xii. 7.

^g Fox, 26.

^h Besse's Sufferings of the People called Quakers, ch. 6. and 29. and passim.

imprisonment was common, and corporal punishment frequent. Imprisonment was often rendered more severe and disgusting by the cruelty of particular magistrates, and from the numbers which were confined together; and stripes, under pretence of vagrancy, were inflicted without regard to sex, and on persons of unimpeached character, and of good circumstances in the world.ⁱ

George Fox^k was one of the first of our Friends who was imprisoned. He was confined at Nottingham in the year 1649, for having publicly opposed a preacher, who had asserted that the more sure word of prophecy, mentioned 2 Pet. i. 19, was the Scripture; George Fox declaring that it was the Holy Spirit; and in the following year, being brought before two justices in Derbyshire,^l one of them scoffing at George Fox, for having bidden him and those about him to tremble at the word of the Lord, gave to our predecessors the name of *Quakers*;^m an appellation which soon became and hath remained our most usual denomination; but they themselves adopted, and have transmitted to us, the endearing appellation of *Friends*.

Although Oliver Cromwell did not employ his authority to put a stop to persecution, it doth not appear that he was inclined to promote it. He gave several of our Friends access to him; and once in particular, when George Fox had been brought to him as a prisoner,ⁿ he released him after a considerable time spent in conference; on which occasion he confessed that our Friends were 'a people risen up that he could not win, either with gifts, honours, offices, or places.'^o

Persecution, however, continued; but, when Charles II. on the prospect of his restoration, issued from Breda, amongst other things, his declaration for liberty of conscience, it might well have been expected that Friends would be permitted to exercise their religion without molestation. Yet during this reign they not only were harassed with the oath of allegiance, which in common with all oaths, they scrupled to take, and by which they often incurred tedious imprisonment, and not unfrequently pre-munire; but new laws^p were made, by which even their meetings for worship subjected them to punishment.

ⁱ Ibid. Suff. pref. and passim. ^k Fox, 2-l. ^l Ibid. 29. ^m Sewel, 25.

ⁿ Sewel, 98. ^o Ibid. 99. ^p 16th Car. II. cap. 4. 22nd. Car. II. cap. 1. Also 13th and 14th Car. II. cap. 1.

The king, as a branch of the legislature, joined in the enacting of these laws; nevertheless, he did not seem in all cases to countenance severity; for in an instance, wherein he acted independently of the parliament, he was the means of affording relief in the most sanguinary persecution which our Friends ever experienced. This was in New-England, where it was made penal for a Friend even to reside.

The first Friends^q who arrived at Boston were women. These were imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly treated. The date of this transaction is 1656. The following year the scourge was employed, and a woman^r is also recorded to have been the first who suffered stripes. She was the wife of a tradesman in London, and had made a voyage to Boston, to warn the people against persecution. Great numbers underwent this punishment; but stripes proving insufficient, to deter our Friends from the exercise of their religious duty, in going to such places, and performing such services, as they believed to be required by the Divine will; it was next attempted to discourage them by a law^s for cutting off their ears. This was executed in vain; and accordingly the intolerance of the persons in power produced another, which subjected Friends to banishment on pain of death. Their constancy,^t however, was not thus to be shaken, and four Friends, amongst whom also was a woman, were hanged at Boston.^u

^q Sewel, 160.

^r Ib. 194, 198.

^s Sewel, 170.

^t Ib. 199, 226—235, 276.

^u THE following paragraph, copied from the Preface to an "Abridgment of the Book of Martyrs," lately published at New-York, we think may with propriety, be here introduced.

EDITOR.

"It may be proper to remark, that as this History of the Martyrs is brought down to a later period than any work of the kind heretofore published, it embraces transactions and events which have occurred in America, and particularly in New-England; exhibiting the operation of a sanguine and persecuting spirit, which prevailed in the early settlement of that country, and by which the religious people, called Quakers, greatly suffered. It is however but justice to the present inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts, to observe, that so far from approving the conduct of their predecessors, they are now as much distinguished for the mildness and liberality of their laws, and kind treatment of this people, as their predecessors were for their cruelty toward them; hence we cannot forbear to add, that such is the religious toleration of that government, and its regard to conscientious scruples, as not only to excuse the Society of Friends, from personal military service, but also from any commutation; an indulgence, which, we apprehend, is not so fully granted to that people, by any or but few other states in the Union. In delineating the character of the first settlers of New-England, and comparing it with that of the present day, we are struck with a contrast, which, at one view, evinces the progress of light and knowledge; and in proportion as it pervades the understanding, men are inclined to cherish that disposition toward each other, which is calculated to promote the religion of Jesus Christ, who "came not to destroy, but to save men's lives."

In this extremity, Samuel Shattock;^w a Friend who had been banished under the last mentioned law, came to England; and application being made to the king by Edward Burrough, who was admitted to a personal audience, Charles granted his mandamus, dated 9th September, 1661, to stop the severities in New-England; and appointed Samuel Shattock, his deputy to carry it to Boston.

Nor were the good offices of Charles II. confined to our Friends of New-England. Notwithstanding the continuance of persecution in England, the king generally appeared inclinable to grant relief, and frequently received the personal application of George Whitehead^v and others, on behalf of their suffering brethren. In 1672,^x he released, under the great seal, such friends as were imprisoned on account of the oath of allegiance, to the number of about four hundred; and the society had some respite from persecution; but not being protected by law, persecutors and informers soon recommenced their oppression, and at the king's decease about fifteen hundred were in prison or prisoners.^y

Although the practice of inflicting corporal punishment on Friends seems in England to have fallen into disuse at the restoration; yet the reign of Charles II. must be considered as the time of the greatest suffering to our society. The imprisonments were long, often terminating only with the life of the prisoner. In this reign also, the crowds shut up together, increased in many places the common sufferings of confinement; which in some were also augmented by the violent tempers of magistrates, or by the barbarity of jailers. The fines imposed by the new laws were exacted with a rigour that generally oppressed the sufferer, and sometimes left him nearly destitute of household goods; and several families experienced a separation of the near connexions of life, by the execution of that law^z which subjected our Friends to banishment.

It is well known that James II. to favour, as is supposed, the religion to which he was attached, suspended the operation of the penal laws against dissenters. Our Friends had their share in the benefit arising from this measure; but it was not until the reign of king William, that they obtained some degree of legal protection. Besides their

^w Sewel, 280, 281.

^v G. Whitehead's Life, passim.

^x Ibid. page 353.

^y Sewel, 586, 1684.

^z 16. Car. II. c. 4.

disuse of the national forms of worship, their refusing to swear and to pay tithes, had been among the principal causes of their sufferings. In the reign of William and Mary, an act was made,^a which, with a few exceptions, allowed to their affirmation the legal force of an oath; and provided a less oppressive mode of recovering tithes, under a certain amount. These provisions were made perpetual in the reign of George I.^b and thus Friends, who received the advantage of the act of toleration, in common with other dissenters, have been in a great measure relieved from persecution.

At the same time that the society in England experienced the vicissitudes which have been thus briefly mentioned, similar circumstances befell our Friends in Ireland. In that nation also, they propagated their principles, settled meetings, suffered persecution, and were at length relieved by law.^c

The means of persecution, though now generally condemned by our countrymen, are not wholly removed; and we are still liable to suffer in the Exchequer, and in the Ecclesiastical court; but this must be understood only with respect to Great Britain and Ireland; for in America, the people at present are not bound to support a national ministry; nor, when this was in some parts the case, were methods of enforcing payment employed, so tedious and so severe as in England.^d

It has already been mentioned, that our Friends above a century ago, had made their appearance in New-England; from whence all the violence of their persecutors had not been able to expel them. They were also early to be found in other colonies, in divers of which they underwent persecution; but on the acquisition of Pennsylvania by William Penn, many of them were induced to remove into that new province; which soon became, and still remains to be, the largest settlement of Friends in America. They are settled however in most of the other states and

^a 6th and 8th William III. c. 34.

^b 1st George I. c. 6.

^c Those who are desirous of particular information respecting Friends in Ireland, may consult Edmundson's Journal, and Rutt's History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers.

^d It is worthy of remark, that in the province of Massachusetts, in which the most sanguinary laws had been made and put into execution against Friends, the first law was made exempting them from contributing to the support of the public ministry; an act of assembly having passed for that purpose in 1731, Jonathan Belcher being governor.

provinces of North America ; and although they have enjoyed a great share of tranquillity, yet during the commotions which terminated in the separation of the United States from the dominion of Great Britain, Friends were involved in great trouble, by refusing to join in the military services which were required of them ; and many were reduced, from circumstances of ease, if not of affluence, to the verge of want, by the excessive seizures which were made of their property, to recover the fines imposed for their refusing to serve personally, or by substitute, in war.

CHAPTER II.

DOCTRINE.

General Belief. Universal and saving Light. Worship. Ministry. Women's preaching. Baptism and the Supper. Universal Grace. Perfection. Oaths and War. Government. Deportment. Conclusion.

WE agree with other professors of the christian name, in the belief of one eternal God, the Creator and preserver of the universe ; and in Jesus Christ his son, the Messiah, and Mediator of the new covenant.^a

When we speak of the gracious display of the love of God to mankind in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in scripture ; and contented with that knowledge which divine wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil ; nevertheless, we acknowledge and assert the divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.^b

To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God,^c and not to the scriptures ; although we highly esteem these sacred writings, in subordination to the spirit,^d from which they were given forth ; and we hold, with the apostle Paul, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.^e

We reverence those most excellent precepts which are recorded in scripture to have been delivered by our great

^a Heb. xii. 24.

^b 1 Cor. i. 24.

^c John i. 1.

^d 2 Pet. i. 21.

^e 2 Tim. iii. 15.

Lord, and we firmly believe that they are practicable, and binding on every christian; and that in the life to come, every man will be rewarded according to his works.^f And further it is our belief, that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice these sacred precepts, many of which are contradictory to the unregenerate will of man,^g every man coming into the world, is endued with a measure of the light, grace, or good spirit of Christ; by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his nature which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible, and within the reach of temptation; but this divine grace, which comes by him who hath overcome the world,^h is to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need. By this, the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance is experienced through faith in its effectual operation; whereby the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness, and from under the power of satan, into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God.

Being thus persuaded that man, without the spirit of Christ inwardly revealed, can do nothing to the glory of God, or to effect his own salvation; we think this influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable; even the worship of the father of lights and of spirits, in spirit and in truth; therefore we consider as obstructions to pure worship, all forms which divert the attention of the mind from the secret influence of this unction from the Holy One.ⁱ Yet although true worship is not confined to time and place, we think it incumbent on christians to meet often together,^k in testimony of their dependance on the heavenly Father, and for a renewal of their spiritual strength; nevertheless, in the performance of worship, we dare not depend, for our acceptance with him, on a formal repetition of the words and experiences of others; but we believe it to be our duty to lay aside the activity of the imagination, and to wait in silence to have a true sight of our condition bestowed upon us; believing even a single sigh,^l arising from such a sense of our infirmities, and of

^f Matt. xvi. 27.^g John i. 9.^h Ibid. xvi. 33.ⁱ 1 John ii. 20, 27.^k Heb. x. 25.^l Rom. viii. 26.

the need we have of Divine help, to be more acceptable to God, than any performances, however specious, which originate in the will of man.

From what has been said respecting worship, it follows that the ministry we approve must have its origin from the same source ; for that which is needful for man's own direction, and for his acceptance with God,^m must be eminently so to enable him to be helpful to others. Accordingly we believe that the renewed assistance of the light and power of Christ, is indispensably necessary for all true ministry ; and that this holy influence is not at our command, or to be procured by study, but is the free gift of God to chosen and devoted servants. Hence arises our testimony against preaching for hire, in contradiction to Christ's positive command, "Freely ye have received, freely give ;"ⁿ and hence our conscientious refusal to support such ministry, by tithes or other means.

As we dare not encourage any ministry, but that which we believe to spring from the influence of the Holy Spirit, so neither dare we attempt to restrain this influence to persons of any condition in life, or to the male sex alone ; but, as male and female are one in Christ, we allow such of the female sex as we believe to be endued with a right qualification for the ministry, to exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church ; and this liberty we esteem a peculiar mark of the gospel dispensation, as foretold by the prophet Joel,^o and noticed by the apostle Peter.^p

There are two ceremonies in use among most professors of the christian name, Water baptism, and what is termed the Lord's Supper. The first of these is generally esteemed the essential means of initiation into the church of Christ ; and the latter of maintaining communion with him. But as we have been convinced, that nothing short of his redeeming power, inwardly revealed, can set the soul free from the thralldom of sin ; by this power alone we believe salvation to be effected. We hold that as there is one Lord and one faith,^q so his baptism is one, in nature and operation ; that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body ; and that the baptism with water, administered by his forerunner John, belonged, as the latter confessed, to an inferior and decreasing dispensation,^r

^m Jer. xxiii. 30—32. ⁿ Matt. x. 8. ^o Joel. ii. 28, 29. ^p Acts ii. 16, 17. ^q Eph. iv. 5.
^r John iii. 30.

With respect to the other rite, we believe that communion between Christ and his church is not maintained by that, nor any other external performance, but only by a real participation of his Divine nature,^s through faith; that this is the supper alluded to in Revelation,^t “Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me;” and that where the substance is attained, it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow; which doth not confer grace, and concerning which, opinions so different, and animosities so violent, have arisen.

Now, as we thus believe that the grace of God, which comes by Jesus Christ, is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, whilst others are left without it; nor, thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life. We entertain worthier notions both of the power and goodness of our heavenly Father, and believe that he doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to experience a total surrender of the natural will, to the guidance of his pure unerring Spirit; through whose renewed assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand perfect in their present rank.^u

There are not many of our tenets more generally known than our testimony against Oaths, and against War. With respect to the former of these, we abide literally by Christ's positive injunction, delivered in his sermon on the mount, “Swear not at all.”^w From the same sacred collection of the most excellent precepts of moral and religious duty, from the example of our Lord himself,^x and from the correspondent convictions of his Spirit in our hearts, we are confirmed in the belief that wars and fightings are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the gospel; which still breathes peace and good-will to men. We also are clearly of the judgment, that if the benevolence of the gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppressing, much more enslaving, their brethren (of whatever colour or complexion,) for whom, as for themselves, Christ died; and would even influence their conduct in their treatment of the brute cre-

^s 2 Pet. i. 4. ^t Rev. iii. 20. ^u Matt. v. 48. Eph. iv. 13. Col. iv. 12. ^w Matt. v. 34.

^x Matt. v. 39, 44, &c. ch. xxvi. 52, 53. Luke xxii. 51. John xviii. 11.

ation; which would no longer groan, the victims of their avarice, or of their false ideas of pleasure.

Some of our tenets have in former times, as hath been shown, subjected our Friends to much suffering from government, though to the salutary purposes of government, our principles are a security. They inculcate submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated. But we hold, that as Christ's kingdom is not of this world, it is not the business of the civil magistrate to interfere in matters of religion; but to maintain the external peace and good order of the community. We therefore think persecution, even in the smallest degree, unwarrantable. We are careful in requiring our members not to be concerned in illicit trade, nor in any manner to defraud the revenue.

It is well known that the society, from its first appearance, has disused those names of the months and days, which having been given in honour of the heroes or false gods of the heathen, originated in their flattery or superstition; and the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having arisen also from motives of adulation. Compliments, superfluity of apparel and furniture, outward shows of rejoicing and mourning, and the observation of days and times, we esteem to be incompatible with the simplicity and sincerity of a Christian life; and public diversions, gaming, and other vain amusements of the world, we cannot but condemn. They are a waste of that time which is given us for nobler purposes; and divert the attention of the mind from the sober duties of life, and from the reproofs of instruction, by which we are guided to an everlasting inheritance.

To conclude: although we have exhibited the several tenets which distinguish our religious society, as objects of our belief; yet we are sensible that a true and living faith is not produced in the mind of man by his own effort; but is the free gift of God^y in Christ Jesus, nourished and increased by the progressive operation of his Spirit in our hearts, and our proportionate obedience.^z Therefore, although for the preservation of the testimonies given us to bear, and for the peace and good order of the society, we deem it necessary that those who are admitted into membership with us, should be previously convinced of those

doctrines which we esteem essential; yet we require no formal subscription to any articles, either as a condition of membership, or a qualification for the service of the church. We prefer the judging of men by their fruits, and depending on the aid of Him, who, by his prophet, hath promised to be "a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment."^a Without this, there is a danger of receiving numbers into outward communion, without any addition to that spiritual sheepfold, whereof our blessed Lord declared himself to be both the door and the shepherd;^b that is, such as know his voice, and follow him in the paths of obedience.

CHAPTER III.

DISCIPLINE.

Its Purposes. Meetings for Discipline. Monthly Meetings. Poor. Convinced Persons. Certificates of Removal. Overseers. Mode of Dealing with Offenders. Arbitration. Marriages. Births and Burials. Quarterly Meetings. Queries. Appeals. The Yearly Meeting. Women's Meetings. Meetings of Ministers and Elders. Certificates to Ministers. The Meetings for Sufferings. Conclusion.

THE purposes which our discipline hath chiefly in view, are, the relief of the poor; the maintenance of good order; the support of the testimonies which we believe it is our duty to bear to the world; and the help and recovery of such as are overtaken in faults.

In the practice of discipline, we think it indispensable that the order recommended by Christ himself be invariably observed.^c "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church."^d

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, meetings were appointed, at an early period of the society, which, from the times of their being held, were called Quarterly meetings. It was afterward found expedient^d to divide

^a Isaiah xxviii. 6. ^b John x. 7, 11.

^c Mat. xviii. 15

^d Sewel, 485.

the districts of those meetings, and to meet more frequently; from whence arose Monthly meetings, subordinate to those held quarterly. At length, in 1669,^e a Yearly meeting was established, to superintend, assist, and provide rules for the whole: previously to which, general meetings had been occasionally held.

A Monthly meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations,^f situated within a convenient distance from each other. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring; to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted into membership;^g to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty; and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly meetings certificates of their membership and conduct; without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each Monthly meeting is required to appoint certain persons, under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice; and when any case of complaint, or disorderly conduct, comes to their knowledge, to see that private admonition, agreeably to the gospel rule before mentioned, be given, previously to its being laid before the Monthly meeting.

When a case is introduced, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed, to visit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and to induce him to forsake and condemn it.^h If they succeed, the person is by minute declared to have made satisfaction for the offence; if not, he is disowned as a member of the society.ⁱ

In disputes between individuals, it has long been the

^e Fox, 390.

^f Where this is the case, it is usual for the members of each congregation to form what is called a Preparative meeting, because its business is to prepare whatever may occur among themselves, to be laid before the Monthly meeting.

^g On application of this kind, a small committee is appointed to visit the party, and report to the Monthly meeting; which is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership, without allowing a seasonable time to consider their conduct.

^h This is generally done by a written acknowledgment, signed by the offender.

ⁱ This is done by what is termed a Testimony of denial; which is a paper reciting the offence, and sometimes the steps which have led to it; next, the means unavailingly used to reclaim the offender; after that, a clause disowning him; to which is usually added an expression of desire for his repentance, and for his being restored to membership.

decided judgment of the society, that its members should not sue each other at law. It therefore enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or, having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly meeting that such be disowned.

To Monthly meetings also belongs the allowing of marriages; for our Society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclusive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry, appear together and propose their intention to the Monthly meeting; and if not attended by their parents and guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they be clear of other engagements respecting marriage; and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections be reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, toward the close whereof the parties stand up, and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterward by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriage the Monthly meeting keeps a record; as also of the births and burials of its members. A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last mentioned records; and an order for the interment, countersigned by the grave-maker of the other. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave a pause is generally made: on both which occasions it frequently falls out, that one or more friends present have somewhat to express for the edification of those who attend; but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

Several Monthly meetings compose a Quarterly meeting. At the Quarterly meeting are produced written answers from the Monthly meetings, to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the meetings' care over

them. The accounts thus received, are digested into one, which is sent, also in the form of answers to queries, by representatives, to the Yearly meeting. Appeals from the judgment of Monthly meetings, are brought to the Quarterly meetings ; whose business also it is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly meetings over the individuals who compose them.

The Yearly meeting has the general superintendence of the Society in the country in which it is established ;* and therefore, as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require, or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excites to the observance of those already made ; and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgment of quarterly meetings are here finally determined ; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other Yearly meetings.¹

In this place it is proper to add, that, as we believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline ; and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety ; accordingly they have Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meetings of their own sex, held at the same time and in the same place with those of the men ; but separately, and without the power of making rules ; and it may be remarked that during the persecutions, which in the last century occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered.

In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel of those of either sex,^m who, by their experience in the work of religion, are qualified for that service, the Monthly meetings are advised to select such under the denomination of Elders. These and ministers approved by their Monthly

* There are seven Yearly meetings, viz. 1 London, to which come Representatives from Ireland, 2 New-England, 3 New-York. 4 Pennsylvania and New-Jersey. 5 Maryland, 6 Virginia, 7 The Carolinas and Georgia.

¹ See the last note.

^m Fox, 461, 492

meetings,^a have meetings peculiar to themselves, called Meetings of Ministers and Elders ; in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who may appear to be weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the Meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct.

It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second day's Morning meeting, that the revisal of manuscripts concerning our principles, previously to publication, is intrusted by the Yearly meeting held in London ; and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are concerned to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts ; in addition to those granted by their Monthly and Quarterly meetings. When a visit of this kind doth not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate from the Monthly meeting of which the minister is a member is sufficient ; if to Ireland, the concurrence of the Quarterly meeting is also required. Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly meetings.

The Yearly meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, which hath continued with great use to the society to this day. It is composed of friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded as such, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly meeting. Those of the men

^a Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship, are not immediately acknowledged as ministers by their Monthly meetings ; but time is taken for judgment, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will also sometimes happen, that such as are not approved, will obtrude themselves as ministers, to the grief of their brethren ; but much forbearance is used toward these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified.

who are approved ministers are also members of this meeting, which is called the Meeting for Sufferings ; a name arising from its original purpose, which is not yet become entirely obsolete.

The Yearly meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock ;^o and, considered as a standing committee of the Yearly meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, and requiring immediate attention ; particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government.

There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned, any president, as we believe that Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside ; nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member ; as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are very voluminous, and require a house for their deposit, as is the case in London, where the general records of the society in Great Britain are kept, a clerk is hired to have the care of them ; but except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of meetinghouses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation and establishment of our discipline ; by which it will be seen, that it is not, as hath been frequently insinuated, merely the work of modern times ; but was the early care and concern of our pious predecessors. We cannot better close this short sketch of it, than by observing, that if the exercise of discipline should in some instances appear to press hard upon those, who neglecting the monitions of divine counsel in their hearts, are also unwilling to be accountable to their brethren ; yet, if that great, leading, and indispensable rule, enjoined by our Lord, be observed by those who undertake to be active in it, " Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,"^p it will prevent the censure of the church from falling on any thing

^o This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books, house rent for a clerk, and his wages for keeping records, the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea, and some small incidental charges.

^p Matt. vii. 12.

but that which really obstructs the progress of truth. Discipline will then promote, in an eminent degree, that love of our neighbour, which is the mark of discipleship, and without which a profession of love to God, and to his cause, is a vain pretence, "He," said the beloved disciple, "that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also."^a

^a 1 John iv. 20, 21.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following *Tables* have been compiled with much attention and pains from the best authors; and it is therefore hoped that they will be considered as a useful addition to Dr. Mosheim's work; and the more so, as they are not confined to the *persons* and *things* contained in it.

The dates, that are placed in the columns which contain the *Sovereign Princes* and *Popes*, are designed to mark the year of their decease.

As several of the *Ecclesiastical* and *Theological Writers*, mentioned in these tables, deserve a place also among *Profane Authors*, on account of their Philosophical, Literary, or Historical Productions; so their names will be repeated in the two distinct columns that contain the learned men of each century.

It is further to be observed, that the Romish Church, even long before the time of the reformation, looked upon many persons as *Heretics*, whom we, on our principles, cannot consider in the same light, and whose doctrines really tended to promote that reformation in which we glory. I have therefore, in many places, added the words *real or reputed* after *Heretics*, rather than seem to submit to the decisions of a superstitious Church in this matter.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

CENTURY I.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors.	The suc- cession of the first Bishops of Rome is a matter full of intricacy and obscu- rity.— We shall herein fol- low the learned Bp. Pearson.	The Evan- gelists & Apostles. The three Apostolic Fathers, Clement, } Barnabas, } Hermas. } Philo, the Jew, Flavius Jo- sephus.	Dositheus. Simon Ma- gus. The Gnos- tics, Cerinthus, Hymenæus Philetus, who, to- gether with Demas and Diotre- phes, are rather to be consi- dered as apostates than as heretics. The Nico- laitans. Ebion. The Naza- renes. N. B. The Ebionites and Naza- renes, though generally	The tax of Augustus Cæsar. The birth of CHRIST. The offerings presented to Je- sus Christ by the wise men from the East. The four pass- overs celebrated by Christ. John the Bap- tist beheaded. Christ's miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension. The descent of the Holy Ghost. St. Stephen, the first Martyr. The conversion of St. Paul. Institution of Agapæ, or feasts of charity.	Titus Li- vius. German- icus. Gratius. Ovid. Julius Hy- ginus. Labeo. Valerius Maximus. Phædrus. Verrius Flaccus. Strabo. Dionysius of Alexand. Seneca, the Rhetor. Seneca, the Philoso- pher and poet. Velleius Patercu- lus. Cremutius Isidore of Charax. Celsus, the Physician.
A. D. Augustus 14					
Tiberius 37					
Caligula 41					
Claudius 54					
Nero 68					
Galba 69					
Otho 69					
Vitellius 70					
Vespasian 79					
Titus 81	Linus.	These are almost all the genuine ecclesiasti- cal writers of the first century that are now extant.			
Domitian 96	Anacletus Clement	For the let- ter of Jesus Christ to Abgarus king of Edessa— the gospels, Acts, Epis- tles & Lit.			
Nerva 98	Evaristus. Alexander.				
	The dates of the deaths of the Roman Pontiffs are not the same in the accounts of chronolog- ers. Petau,				

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events.	Profane Authors.
	<p>Fleury, Pearson, Marcel, Pfaff, Bower, Lenglet, and others, differ frequently in this respect; and their differences sometimes are considerable.</p> <p>For example, the death of pope Anicetus is placed by Pet. au and Lenglet, in the year 161, by Pearson and Pfaff in 162, by Fleury, Walch, and Bower, in 163.</p> <p>As it is impossible to reconcile these historians, and difficult often to decide which calculates best, we shall follow Pearson & Pfaff as the surest guides.</p>	<p>urgies, that have (besides those which we esteem Canonical) been attributed to the Apostles—as also the Epistles of Mary to Ignatius and others—the Acts of Pilate—the Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, &c. must be considered as apocryphal and spurious.</p> <p>The works that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite were forged in the Fifth Century.</p>	<p>placed by the Learned in the First Century. yet belong more properly to the Second.</p>	<p>Baptism is administered by immersion.</p> <p>Several christian churches founded.</p> <p>The first persecution under Nero.</p> <p>The oracles reduced to silence, a dubious, or rather a fabulous story.</p> <p>The destruction of Jerusalem.</p> <p>The accounts of a dispute between St. Peter and Simon the Magician at Rome, and of a Statue's having been erected to the latter in that city, seem idle fictions.</p> <p>The second persecution of the Christians under Domitian.</p> <p>St. John thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, a dubious story.</p> <p>The adventures of Apollonius Tyaneus.</p>	<p>Massurius Sabinus.</p> <p>Dydimus of Alexand.</p> <p>Cocceius Nerva.</p> <p>Philo, the Jew.</p> <p>Pomponius Mela.</p> <p>Columella.</p> <p>Remmius. Palæmon.</p> <p>Votienus.</p> <p>Servilius Marcus.</p> <p>Annæus Cornutus.</p> <p>Lucian.</p> <p>Andromachus.</p> <p>Petronius.</p> <p>Persius.</p> <p>Epictetus.</p> <p>Dioscorides.</p> <p>Flavius Josephus.</p> <p>Silius Italicus.</p> <p>Valerius Flaccus.</p> <p>Pliny, the Elder.</p> <p>Pliny, the Younger.</p> <p>Asconius.</p> <p>Pedanius.</p> <p>Plinius Valerianus.</p> <p>Juvenal.</p> <p>Martial.</p> <p>Statius.</p> <p>Sext. Jul. Frontinus.</p> <p>Quintillian.</p> <p>Dion Chrysostome.</p> <p>Tacitus.</p> <p>Phlegon.</p> <p>Apion.</p> <p>Trogus.</p> <p>Pompeius.</p> <p>Athenodorus.</p>

CENTURY II.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors.	Xystus or Sixtus 127	Ignatius of Antioch.	Nazarenes.	Third persecution under Trajan mitigated by the intercession of Pliny the Younger.	Arrian.
A. D.	Telesphorus 138	Polycarp.	Gnostics.		Aulus Gellius.
Trajan 117	Hyginus 150	Justin Martyr.	Cainites.	Fourth persecution under Adrian.	Plutarch.
Adrian 138	Pius I. 153	Hegesippus.	Elxai.		Florus.
Anton. Pius 161	Anicetus 162	Theophilus of Antioch, the first who made use of the word Trinity to express the distinction of what divines call, persons in the God-head. The Christian church is very little obliged to him for his invention. The use of this and other unscriptural terms, to which men attach either no ideas, or false ones, has wounded charity and peace, without promoting truth & knowledge. It has produced heresies of the worst kind.	Millenarians.		Celsus, the Lawyer.
M. Antoninus 180	Soter 172	Melito.	Basilides.	Fifth persecution under Antoninus Pinus, continued under Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus.	Oenomaus Philo of Phœnicia.
Lucius Verus Commodus 192	Eleutherius 185	Tartian.*	Isidore, the Son.	Conversion of the Germans and Gauls, and (if we may give credit to Bede) of the Britons.	Ptolemy, the Astronomer and Geographer.
Pertinax 193	Victor 196	Papias.	Carpocrates and his followers.	The thundering Legion—a dubious event.	Salvius Julianus.
Did. Julianus 193		Apollinaris	Marcellina and Epiphanius.	Insurrections of the Jews against the Romans.	Suetonius.
Niger 194		Hermias.	Prodicus, the chief of the Adamites.	Sedition and slaughter of that people under the standards of Barcocheba, the false Messiah.	Apollonius, the Philosopher.
Albinus Severus 198		Athenagoras.	Valentine and his followers.	The Jews are driven from Jerusalem.	Appian.
		Clemens Alexandrinus.	* Tatian, supposed to be the chief of the Encratites.		Fronto.
			Hydroparastates, and Apocatactites.		Maximus Tyrius.
			Docetæ, or Phantasiasts.		Taurus Calvisius.
			The Melitonians.		Apuleius.
			The Sacrophori.		Artemidorus.
			Severians.		Lucian.
			Ophites.		Numenes.
			Artotyrites.		Pausanias.
			Theodotus, the Tanner, the chief of the Alogi.		Polienus.
					Sextus Empiricus.
					Athenæus.
					Julius Polux.
					Diogenes Laertius.
					Gallienus.
					Ammonius Saccas.
					Priscus.
					Cephalion.
					Aristides.
					Hermogenes,

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
		<p>Tertullian. Aquila. Theodotion. Symmachus. Hermes. The unknown Author of the Sibylline Oracles. Irenæus. Polycrates. Dionysius of Corinth. Pantenus. Quadratus.</p> <p>Add to these several Fragments of the writings of some of the principal Heretics mentioned in the following column. These fragments are collected by Cotelierius, Grabe, &c.</p>	<p>Montanus. Tertullian. Priscilla & Maximilla who were called Montanists, Cataphryges, and Pepuzians. The Sethites and Abelites. Heracleon. Bassus. Colarbasus. Blastus. Mark. Valentini-ans. Barde-sanes. Hermogenes. Apelles. Praxeas, the chief of the Patro-passians, Seleucas, and Hermias. Artemon.</p>	<p>Sundays, and other stated days, in private houses, & in the burying places of Martyrs. Infant Baptism and sponsors used in this century. Various Festivals and Fasts established. A distinction formed between Bishops and Presbyters, who, with the Deacons and readers, are the only orders of ecclesiastics known in this century. The sign of the cross and anointing used. The custom of praying toward the East introduced.</p>	<p>who, at the age of 17, published his Rhetoric; at 20, his book on Ideas; and at 25, is said to have forgot all that he had learned. Justin Martyr. Theophilus of Antioch. Chrysorus. Marcus Antoninus. Harpocraton. Polyænus. Athenagoras. Celsus, the philosopher. Julius Solinus. Plotinus. Papinian.</p>

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors.	Zephyrinus 219	The author of the acts of Perpetua and Felicitas.	Adelphius. Aquilinus.	Sixth persecution under Severus, in which Leonidas, Irenæus, Victor, bishop of Rome, Perpetua, Felicitas, and others, suffer martyrdom.	Ælius Marcellus.
A. D. Severus 211	Callistus 224	Minutius Felix.	Manes, the chief of the Manicheans.		Oppian, the poet.
Caracalla 217	Urban 231	Hippolytus.	Hierax.		Quintus Seren.
Geta 212	Pontianus 235	Ammonius.	Noetus.		Sammonicus.
Macrinus 218	Anterus 236	Julius Africanus.	Sabellius.		Julius Africanus.
Æliogabalus 222	Fabianus 251	Origen.	Beryllus.	Seventh persecution under Maximin VIII, under Decius, in which Fabianus, the Roman pontiff, Babyllas, Alexander, and others, suffer martyrdom.	Acolus.
Severus 235	Cornelius 254	Cyprian.	Paul of Samosat.		Dion Cassius.
Alexander 235	A contest between him and Novatian.	Novatian.	Novatians.		Ulpian.
Maximin 237	Lucius 256	Gregory Thaum.	Patropasians.		Ephorus.
Gordian I. 237	Stephen 258	Dionysius of Alexandria.	Arabians.		Censorinus.
II. 237	Sixtus II. 259	Pamphilus.	Cathari.		C. Curius Fortunatus.
Pupienus 238	Dionysius 270	Anatolius.	Valesians.		Herodian.
Balbin 238	Felix 275	Arnobius, African.	Privatus.		Nicagoras.
Gordian III. 244	Eutychianus 283	Commudianus.	A schism between Stephen and Cyprian, concerning the re-baptizing of Heretics.		Quadratus.
Philip the Arabian, supposed to have been the first Christian emperor 250	Caius Marcellinus 296	Archelaus.			Amelius.
Decius 252		Lucianus.			Gentilianus.
Gallus 253		Hesychius.			Erennius.
Volusianus 253		Methodius.			Dixippus.
Emilianus 259		Theognostus.			Cassius Longinus.
Valerian 259		Malchion.			Julius Capitolinus.
Gallienus 268		Paul of Samosata.			Ælius Lampridius.
Claudius II. 270		Stephen R. Pont.			Trebellius Pollio.
Quintillus 270		Eusebius, a deacon of Alexandria.			Porphry.
Aurelian 275		Dionysius R. Pont.			Ælius Spartianus.
Macritus 275		Basilides, bishop of Pentapolis.			Flavius Vopiscus.
Probianus 276		Victorinus.			M. Aurel.
Severus 233		Prudentius.			Olymp.
					Nemesianus.
					Alexander, a Greek philosopher.
					Philostratus.
					Julius Paulus.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Carinus 284 Numerianus 284 Dioclesian Maximian.				<p>lon, Sora, and other places.</p> <p>Remarkable deaths of those that persecuted the Christians, related by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Lucius Cæcilius.</p> <p>Many illustrious men and Roman senators converted to Christianity.</p> <p>The origin of the Monastic life derived from the austere manners of Paul the Theban, the first hermit.</p> <p>Dioclesian assumes the name and honours due to Jupiter, and orders the people to worship him.</p> <p>Religious rites greatly multiplied in this century; altars used; wax tapers employed.</p> <p>Public churches, called in Greek <i>Κυριακὰ</i>, built for the celebration of divine worship.</p> <p>The pagan mysteries injudiciously imitated in many respects by christians.</p> <p>The tasting of milk and honey previous to baptism, and the person anointed before and after that holy rite—receives a crown, and goes arrayed</p>	<p>Sixtus Pomponius. Herennius Modestinus. Hermogenianus. Palladius Rutilius Taurus. Æmilianus Justin. Julius Caphurnius. Arnobius, the African.</p>

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
				in white for some time after.	
				The story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and the martyrdom of Ursula, and the 11000 British Virgins, the principal fables invented in this century.	

CENTURY IV.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Roman Emperors.	Marcellinus 304	Lactantius Firm.	The Manicheans disguised under	The tenth persecution continued.	Ælius Donatus.
A. D.	Marcellus 309	Lucius Cæcilus.	the demoniations of	The Athanasians or Othodox persecuted by Constantius, who was an Ari	Servius.
Dioclesian and Maximian abdicate the empire in the year	Eusebius 311	Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre.	Encratites, Apotactics, Sacchophori, Hydroparastates, &	an, and by Valens, who ordered 80 of their deputies, all ecclesiastics, to be put on board a ship, to which fire was set as soon as it was got clear of the coast.	Helladius.
305	Melchides 313	Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea.	Arius and his followers, who were divided into Eunomians, Semiarians.	Sext Aurelius Victor.	Andronicus Nonius.
Galcrius 311	Sylvester 335	Constantine the Great.	Solitaries	to which fire was set as soon as it was got clear of the coast.	Marcellus.
Constantinus 300	Julius 352	Eustathius, bishop of Antioch.	Arius and his followers, who were divided into Eunomians, Semiarians.	The Christians persecuted by Sapor.	Sext Aurelius Victor.
Constantine the Great 337	Liberius 367	Commodianus.	Eusebians, Homoiousians, or Aacacians,	The supposed conversion of Constantine the Great, by a vision representing a fiery cross in the air.	Maximus of Smyrna, who is supposed to have taught the emperor Julian Magic.
His adversaries, Maximin 313	Felix.	Alexander, bishop of Alexandria.			Oribases.
Maxentius 312	Damascus 324	Alexandria.			Eutropius.
Licinius 325	A new schism between this pontiff and Ursinus.	Juvenius.			Libanius.
Constantine II. 338	Syricus 398	Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.			Ausonius.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Constantius 361		Antonius, who, with Paul the hermit, was the first institutor of the monastic life.	and Psathyrrians. Photinus, Apollinarius, Father and Son.	First general council. It was held at Nice in 325. In it the opinions of Arius were condemned, and the popes declared equal in dignity with other Christian bishops.	Prudentius.
Constans 350			Macedonius.	A second general council is held in the year 381, at Constantinople, in which the errors of Macedonius are condemned.	Rufus Festus.
Julian, the Apostate 363			Anthropomorphites		Avienus.
Jovian 364		Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra.	Priscillian, Andeus, Messalians, or Eulichites.		Themistius.
Valentinian 375		Theodore, bishop of Heraclea.	Collyridians.		Flavius Vegetius.
Valens 378		Julius, bishop of Rome.	Eustathians.		Hierocles.
Gratian 386		Jul. Firm. Maternus.	Colluthius.		Julian.
Valentinian II. 392		Pachomius.	Helvidius.		Ammianus Marcellinus.
Theodosius the Great 395		Eusebius, bishop of Emessa.	Bonosus.	Remarkable progress of the Christian religion among the Indians, Gotlis, Marcomanni, and Iberians.	Symmachus.
The division of the Roman Empire into the Eastern and Western Empires.		Serapion.	Vigilantius.	The famous donation of Constantine in favour of the Roman See—a mere fable.	Lactantius.
The Visigoths settle in Gaul and Spain about the latter end of this century.		Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem.	Three schisms of the Meletians.	The miraculous defeat of Eugenius by Theodosius.	Jamblichus.
Arthanaric 382		Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers.	Luciferians, and Donatists.		Ælius Lampridius.
Alaric.		Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari.			Eusebius of Cæsarea.
		Phœbadius, bishop of Agen.			Jul. Firmicus Maternus.
		Eunomius.			Chalcidius.
		Zeno, bishop of Verona.			Pomponius.
		Titus, bishop of Bostra.			Festus.
		Damascus, bishop of Rome.			Quintus Curtius.
		Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis.			Macrobius.
		Optatus, bishop of Milevi.		Julian's attempt to invalidate the predictions of the prophets, by encouraging the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, defeated by an earthquake and fiery eruption. See the learned bishop of Gloucester's interesting and ingenious work, entitled, Julian, or, A Discourse, &c.	
		Pucianas.		Theodosius the great, is obliged by Ambrose, bish. of Milan, to do public penance for the slaughter	
		Marius			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
		<p>Victorinus.</p> <p>Liberius, bishop of Rome.</p> <p>Ephrem the Syrian.</p> <p>Didymus of Alex.</p> <p>Basil, bishop of Cæsarea.</p> <p>Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum.</p> <p>Gregory, bishop of Nyssa.</p> <p>Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium.</p> <p>Hegesippus.</p> <p>Apollinarius, father and son.</p> <p>Eusebius, bishop of Vercell.</p> <p>Diodore, bishop of Tarsus.</p> <p>Proba Falconia.</p> <p>The three Macarii.</p> <p>Ambrose.</p> <p>Jerom.</p> <p>Ruffinus.</p> <p>Philastrius.</p> <p>Paulinus, Bp. of Nola.</p> <p>Augustin.</p> <p>John Chrysostom.</p>		<p>of the Thessalonians.</p> <p>The Eucharist was, during this century, administered in some places to infants and persons deceased.</p> <p>Something like the doctrine of transubstantiation is held, and the ceremony of the elevation used in the celebration of the Eucharist.</p> <p>The council of Elvira in Spain, held in the year 305, not only solemnly forbids the adoration of pictures or images, but even prohibits the use of them.</p> <p>The use of incense and of the censor, with several other superstitious rites, introduced—The churches are considered as externally holy, the saints are invoked, images used, and the cross worshipped.</p> <p>The clerical order augmented by new ranks of ecclesiastics, such as archdeacons, country bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, exarchs, &c.</p>	

CENTURY V.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome	Ecclesiasti- cal & Theo- logical Writers	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remarkable Events.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the West. A. D.	Anastasius 402	Gauden- tius, bish- op of Bresse.	Vigilantius. Pelagius. Celestius. Julian.	Foundation of the French mo- narchy by Phara- mond, or rather by Clovis.	Anienus. Martianus Capella. Claudian. Eunapius.
Honorius 423	Zozimus 418	Sulpitius Severus.	authors of what is called the	An earthquake which swallows up several cities in Palestine.	Maerobius Olympio- dorus.
Valentini- an 455	Boniface I. 423	Palladius. Jeramelides.	Pelagian Heresy.	A third general council held at Ephesus, at which Nestorius was de- posed, in the year 481.	Orosius. Peutinger Rutilius Claudian.
Maximus 455	A schism between this pope and Eu- lalius.	Innoen- tius. Polybius. Pelagius. Celestius.	John Cas- sian, Faustus, Gennadius, Vincent of Lerins,		Numan- tianus.
Avitus 456	Celestine I. 432	Theodore, bishop of	Semi-Pela- gians.	A fourth gen- eral council held at Chalcedon, against Eutyches, in the year 451.	Servius Honorat- us
Majoranus 461	Sixtus III. 440	Mopsu- esta.		Progress of Christianity among the Franks and Germans.	Sidonius Apollina- ris.
Severus 465	Leo the Great 461	Polyehro- nius.	Nestorius. Theodo- ret.	The conversion of the Irish to the Christian faith at- tempted in vain by Palladius, but effected by St. Patrick, whose original name was Suicathus, who arrived in Ireland in the year 432.	Candidus, the Isau- rian.
Anthemius 472	Simplicius 483	Synesius. Isidore of Pelusium.	Theodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mop- sus,		Zozimus, the His- torian.
Olybrius 472	Felix III. 492	Cyril of Alexan- dria.	Nestorians.		Idaeus. Quintus, o Cointus.
Glycerius deposed in 474	Gelasius 496	Orosius. Marius Mercator.	Eutyches. Dioseorus. The Ace- phali.		Priscus. Musæus.
Julius Ne- pos de- posed in 475	Anastasius II. 498	Maximus, bishop of Turi.	—Mono- physites. —Jacobites		Proclus. Simplicius
Romulus Augustus, who reigned till the 23d of August, when Odo- acer took the title of King of It- aly, and put an end to the West- ern empire.	A schism between him and Laurentius.	Theodore. Cassian. Peter Chrysolo- gus. Hilarius. Philostor- gius.	—Arme- nians. —Theo- pascites. —Predes- tinarians. —Cœlio- læ.		
Kings of Italy. Odoacer 493		Vincent of Lerins.	Peter the fuller. Xenaius.		
Theodoric.		Socrates. Sozome- nes.			
Emperors of the East. Arcadius 408		Leo the Great.			
Theodo- sius II. 450		Prosper. Idacius.			
Marcianus 457		Basil.			
Leo I. 474		Seleucus. Ambrosius.			
Leo II. 474		the Young- er.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites and Institutions.	Profane Authors.
Zeno Isaur. 491		Claudian Mamer-tus.		Arians and Atha-nasians.	
Anastasius.		Faustus.		The extinction of the Western Empire.	
Gothic kings of Spain.		Felix, the Roman Pontiff.		The Theodo-sian Code drawn up.	
Alaric 411		Vigilius			
Ataulphus 415		Tapsensis, supposed by some learned men to have been the author of what is commonly called, The Athanasian Creed.		The city of Venice founded by the inhabitants of the adjacent coast, who fled from the incur-sion of the Bar-barians.	
Sigeric 415		Victor, the African.			
Vallia 420		Gennadius.			
Theodoric 451		Zozimus.			
Thoris-mond 452		Prosper.			
Theodoric II. 466		Sidonius			
Euric 484		Apollinar.			
Alaric II.		Eneas.			
Kings of France.		Gaza.			
Phara-mond, first king 420					
Clodion 451					
Meroveus 456					
Childeric 481					
Clovis I.					
The kings of the Van-dals in Af-rica, where they set-tled in the year 429.					
Genseric 466					
Huneric 484					
Gonta-mond 496					
Trasa-mond.					
Kings of England.					
Votigern.					
Kingdom of Kent founded by Hengist the Saxon, in 457, That of Sussex by Æla, in 419					

CENTURY VI.

Sovereign Princes.	Pope or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics real or reputed.	Remarkable Events.	Learned Men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.
Kings of Italy, A. D.	Symmachus 514	Cæsarius, bishop of Arles.	Deuterius. Severus, leader of the Acephali.	Several nations converted to Christianity.	Justinian. Boethius. Procopius. Trebonian.
Theodoric 526	Hormisdas 523				Agathias, who continued the history composed by Procopius.
Athalaric 534	John I. 526	Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa.	Themistius, chief of the Agnoites, who maintained that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment.	The canon of the mass established by Gregory the Great.	
Amalasuntha 534	Felix IV. 529				
Theodatus 536	Boniface II. 531			The benedictine order founded.	
Vitiges 540	A schism between Boniface & Dioscorus. 552	Boethius. Timothy of Constantinople.			
Eldebold 541	John II. 535	Ennodius. Severus.		Forty benedictine Monks, with Augustin at their head, are sent into Britain by Gregory the Great, in the year 596, who convert Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the Christian faith.	Jornandes. Gregory of Tours.
Totila 552	Agapetus I. 536	Cassiodorus.	Barsani-ans, or Semi-dulites, who maintained that Christ had suffered only in appearance.		Marius Bp. of Avanches, an eminent historian.
Tejas 554	Silverius 540	Procopius. Peter, the Deacon.			Menander, the historian.
Emperors of the East.	A schism between Silverius & Vigilius 555	Maxentius, a Scythian Monk.			Stephen of Byzantium.
Anastasius 518	Pelagius I. 558	Dionysius the Little.		The kingdom of the Ostrogoths is destroyed by Justinian, who becomes master of Italy.	Magn. Aurelius Cassiodorus.
Justin I. 527	John III. 572	Fulgentius Ferrandus.	Jacob Zanzale, the chief of the Jacobites, or Monophysites.		Dionysius the Little.
Justinian 565	Benedict I. 5				
Justin II. 578	Pelagius II. 590	Marcellinus.			
Tiberius II. 586	Gregory I.	Zachary, the Schoolman.	John Philoponus, the chief of the Tritheites.	The Lombards invade Italy in the year 568, and erect a new kingdom at Ticinum.	
Mauritius.		Hesychius. Facundus. Hermian.			
Gothic Kings of Spain.		Pope Vigilius.	Damianists. Origenists.	The Christians are persecuted in several places.	
Alaric 507		Rusticus, a Roman deacon.	Corrupticolæ.		
Gesalaric 512		Junillus.	Accœmetæ.	The orthodox are oppressed by the emperor Anastasius, Thrasemond, king of the Vandals, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, &c.	
Amalaric 531		Victor of Capua.	The Acetians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians, continued to raise troubles in the church.		
Theuda 548		Primasius.			
Thendisilla 548		Jornandes.			
Agila 552		Liberatus.			
Athanagilda 567		Victor, the African.			
Lioba 568		Venantius Fortunatus.			
Leunigild 585					
Richared. These princes were masters also of Narbonne and Aquitaine.					
Kings of England.					

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events.	Learned men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.
<p>The third Saxon kingdom is founded in England by Cerdic, in 514, and is called the kingdom of the West Saxons.</p> <p>The fourth, even that of the East Saxons, by Erchenwen, in 527</p> <p>The fifth, that of Northumberland, by Ida, in 547</p> <p>The sixth, that of the East Angles, by Uffa, in 575</p> <p>The seventh, that of Mercia by Cridda, in 582</p> <p>Thus was successively formed the SAXON HEPTARCHY.</p>		<p>Anastasius of Moun Sinai, afterward bishop of Antioch.</p> <p>John the schoolman</p> <p>Cosmas.</p> <p>Gildas</p> <p>Leander.</p> <p>John of Constanti- nople.</p> <p>Columbanus</p> <p>Leontius Byzant.</p> <p>Leontius of Cyprus</p> <p>Gregory the Great</p> <p>Isidorus of Seville.</p> <p>Lucius Carinus.</p> <p>Proclus</p> <p>Diadochus.</p>		<p>Litanies introduced into the church of France.</p> <p>The Arians are driven out of Spain.</p> <p>Superstition of the Stylites introduced by Simeon, the head of that crazy sect, who spent his life on the top of a pillar, and foolishly imagined, that he would, by this trick, render himself agreeable to the Deity The Romish writers say, he chose this lofty habitation (for the pillar was 86 cubits high) to avoid the multitude which crowded about him to see his miracles.</p> <p>The Christian era is formed in this century by Dionysius the Little, who first began to count the course of time from the birth of Christ.</p> <p>The Justinian Code, Pandect, Institutions, and Novellæ, collected and formed into a body.</p> <p>Antioch, that was destroyed by an earthquake, is rebuilt by Justinian.</p> <p>The fifth general council assembled at Constantinople in the year 553, under Justinian I. in which the Origenists and the Three Chapters were condemned.</p>	
<p>Kings of France.</p> <p>Clovisl. 511</p> <p>The kingdom is divided between his four sons, viz Thierry,</p> <p>Metz 534</p> <p>Clodomire.</p> <p>Orleans 524</p> <p>Childebert,</p> <p>Paris 558</p> <p>Clotaire,</p> <p>Soissons</p> <p>562</p> <p>A second division of</p>					

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events.	Learned Men, Historians, Philosophers, and Poets.
the kingdom between the four sons of Clotaire I. viz. Cherebert, Paris 566 Gontran, Orleans 593 Chilperic, Soissons 584 Sigibert, Metz 575 Kings of the Vandals in Africa. Thrasamond 523 Hilderic 530 Gilimec, defeated & taken prisoner by Belisarius, in the year 584 By this event Africa became again subject to the emperors of the East Kings of the Lombards, who entered into Italy in the year 568 Alboinus 571 Clephis 573 Antharis 590 Agiluf. Exarchs of Ravenna. Longinus 583 Smaragdus 588 Romanus 598 Callinicus.					

CENTURY VII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events:	Profane Authors.	
Emperors of the East.	Sabinianus 605	John Philoponus.	The ancient Heresies were still in vigour during this century ;—to these were added the Paulicians, Monothelites.	An extraordinary progress is made in the conversion of the English.	The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, Isidore of Seville, who, besides his Theological productions, composed a history of the Goths & Vandals, and a work, entitled Etymologicon Scientiarum, in which he gives an account of the origin and nature of the different sciences.	
A. D. Mauritianus 602	Boniface III. 606	John Malala.				
Phocas 610	—IV. 614	Hesychius, of Jerusalem.		The archbishops of London and York are founded, with each twelve bishoprics under its jurisdiction. The archbishopric of London is translated to Canterbury.		
Heraclius 641	Deodatus 617	Theophylact. Simocatta.				
Constantine III. 641	Boniface V. 625	Antiochus.				
Heraclianus 642	Honorius I. 632	Modestus.				
Constans II. 668	Severinus I. 639	Cyrus of Alexandria.				
Constantine IV. 635	John IV. 641	Jonas.		The gospel is propagated with success in Holland, Friesland, and Germany.		
Leonitus 638	Theodorus I. 643	Gallus.				
Tiberius III. 703	Martin I. 655	John Moschus.		The schism between the Greek and Latin churches commences in this century.		
Justinian II.	Eugenius I. 656	Andreas Damascenus.				
Kings of the Goths in Spain.	Vitalianus 671	George Pisides.		The rise of Mahomet, and the rapid progress of his religion which is propagated by fire and sword.		
Victoric.	Adeodatus 676	Eligius.				
Gondemar	Domnus 678	The two Theodores.		The mahanometan era, called the Hegira, commences with the year of Christ 622.		
Sisebut 621	Agatho 682	Paulus.				
Recarede II. 621	Leo II. 684	The Emp. Heraclius.		The destruction of the Persian monarchy under the reign of Isdegerdes III.		
Suinthila 631	Benedict II. 685	Maximus Conf.				
Sinenand 636	John V. 686	Theodore, the Monk.		Boniface IV. receives from that odious tyrant Phocas		
Chintila 640	Conon 687	The Emp. Constans II.				
Tulga 642	Sergius I. 701	Constans II.				
Cindevind 649	A schism occasioned by the pretensions of Theodore and Paschalis.	Martin, bishop of Rome.				
Recceswinthe 672		Maurus, of Ravenna.				
Vamba 680		Anastasius a Monk—				
Ervige 637		A Rom. Presb.				
Egica.		Fruetuosus, Hisp.				
Kings of France.		Peter, Metropolitan of Nico				
Clotaire II. 628						
Dagobert						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Here-ics.	Remarkable Events.	Pro- fane Au- thors.
638 Sigibert II.		Augus- tine, first archbish op of Can- terbury	demia.		who was the great patron of the popes, and the chief pro- moter of their grandeur) the famous Panthe- on, which is con- verted into a church. Here	
654 Clovis 660 Clotaire III. 668 Childeric II. 673 Dagobert II. 679 Theodoric III. 690 Clovis III. 695 Childebert III.		was nomi- nated to that high office in the year 597, by Grégory the Great, bishop of Rome, with the consent of Ethelbert, king of Canter- bury; he died in the year 611 Laurence 619 Mellitus 624 Justus 634 Honorius 653 Adeodatus 664 Theodore 690 Brithwald.	Julian Pome- rius. Agatho. John, of Thessa- lonica. Cresco- nius. Ildefon- sus. Mar- culph. Macari- us. John Cli- machus Fortunatus Venant. Isidore, of Seville. who com- posed commen- taries on the histor- ical books of the Old Testa- ment, and is acknow- ledged to have been the princi- pal author of the fa- mous Mosarabic Liturgy, which is the ancient liturgy of Spain. Dorothe- us. So- phronius, bishop of Jerusalem.		Cybele was suc- ceeded by the Virgin Mary, and the Pagan deities by Chris- tian martyrs. Idolatry still subsisted; but the objects of it were changed. Ina, king of the West Sax- ons, resigns his crown, and as- sumes the Mo- nastic habit in a convent at Rome. During the Heptarchy, many Saxon kings took the same religious turn. Pope Ag- atho ceases to pay the tribute which the Sec of Rome was accustomed to pay the Empe- ror at the elec- tion of its pontiff.	
The race of the Idle Kings be- gins with Theodoric III. and ends with Childeric III.						
England The Hep- tarchy.						
Kings of the Lom- bards in Italy. Agilulph 616 Adaloaldus 626 Ariovaldus 633 Rotharis 653 Rodoald 656 Aripert 662 Gondipert 662 Grimoald 673 Garibald 673 Pertharit 689 Gunipert 701						
					The sixth general council is held at Con- stantinople un- der Constantine Pogonatus, a- gainst the Mono- thelites in the year 680. The seventh, which is looked upon by some as a kind of sup- plement to this, was held in the	

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events.	Profane Authors.
Exarchs of Ravenna.					Trullus, under Justinian II. in the year 692, & is called Quinixestum.	
Smaragdus 610						
John 615						
Eleutherius 617						
Isaac 643						
Theodorus Calliopa 649						
Olympius 650						
Theodorus Calliopa 686						
Theodorus 687						
Johannes						
Plato 702						

CENTURY VIII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Hereties, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events-Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East.	John VI. 705	Britwald 731	Venerable Bede.	The Eutychians, Monothelites, and Jacobites	Rapid progress of the Saracens in Asia and Africa.	Aleuin—see the fourth column.
A. D. Justinian II. 711	John VII. 707	Tatwin 734	John Damascenus.	continue to propagate their doctrines.	The downfall of the kingdom of the Lombards, and of the exarchate of Ravenna, the latter of which is granted to the see of Rome by Pepin king of France.	Bede. Fredegarus.
Philippicus 713	Constantine 714	Nothelm 741	The anonymous author of a book, entitled, Ordo Romanus de Divinis Officiis, published in the Bibl. Patr.	The Paulists, who were so called from their leaders Paul and John, and embraced the pernicious errors of Valentine & Manes.	Charlemagne adds to the grant of Pepin several provinces; though the titles and acts of this grant have not been produced by the Roman catholic historians.	John Damascenus
Anastasius II. 714	Gregory II. 731	Cuthbert 753	Charlemagne, see the Capitularia, published by Baluzius at Paris, in 1677, and the Codex Carolinus, published at Ingolstadt, in 1634, by Gretzer.	The Agnoelites, a wrong-headed set of people, who prayed dancing.	The ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe introduced.	George Syncellus.
Theodosius III. 716	Gregory III. 741	Bregwin 762	Ambrosius. Autbertus.	Adelbert. Felix, bishop of Urgella.	The Saxons, with Whittekind their monarch, converted to Christianity.	Virgilius.
Leo III. Isaur. 741	Zachary 752	Lambert 790	The Popes Gregory I. Gregory II. and Adrian Florus.	Elipand, bishop of Toledo.	The Christians persecuted by the Saracens, who massacre five hundred Monks in the Abbey of Lerins.	
Constantine V. Copron. 775	Stephen II. 752	Athelard.	Leo, the Isaurian, who destroyed the images in the churches, and was the chief of Iconoclastes; & Clement, a native of England,		The Saracens take possession of Spain.	
Leo IV. 780	Stephen III. 757				Controversy between the Greek and Latin church, concerning the Holy Ghost's proceeding from the Son.	
Constantine VI. Porphy. 797	A schism between Paul and Theophylact. Stephen IV. 772					
Irene.	A schism between Constantine, Philip, and Stephen V. Adrian 795					
Kings of the Visigoths in Spain. Egica 700	Leo III.					
Vitiza 710						
Roderic, the last king of the Goths 712						
Kings of Leon and the Asturias Pelagius 737						
Favila 739						
Alphonso 757						
Froila 768						
Aurelio 774						
Silo 783						
Mauregat 788						
Vere-						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heresies, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
mond 791			and one of the principal instruments made use of by Charle-	decisions of Scrip- ture be- fore the decrees of councils, are reput- ed here-	The Germans converted by Boniface.	
Alphonso II.			magne for the restor- ation of learning. He is con- sidered by Du Pin as the person that first introduc- ed polit- ical literature into	Virgilius was also accused of heresy by Pope Za- chary, be- cause he was a	The Gospel propagated in Hyrcania and Tartary.	
Kings of France. Child- bert III. 711			France, and it is to him that the Universi- ties of Pa- ris, Tours, Soissons, &c. owe their ori- gin. Felix, Arch- bishop of Ray- enna. Germa- nus, bp. of Con- stantino- ple.	good ma- themati- cian and believed the exis- tence of Anti- codes. Those who pro- moted the worship of images & relics in this cen- tury, de- serve much bet- ter the denomin- ation of heretics.	The right of election to the see of Rome conferred upon Charlemagne and his success- ors by Pope Adrian, in a council of bish- ops assembled at Rome.	
Dagobert III. 715						
Chilperic II. 720						
Theodor ic IV. 736						
Inter- regnum, from the year 737 to 743, dur- ing which time Car- loman and Pepin, sons of Charles Martel, govern without the regal title.					The worship of images au- thorized by the second council of Nice, in the year 787, which is improperly called the se- venth general council.	
Childeric III. de- throned in 750					The reading of the Epistle and Gospel in- troduced into the service of the church.	
The last king of the First race.					Solitary or private masses instituted.	
Second race.					Churches built in honour of saints.	
Pepin 768					Masses for the dead.	
Charle- magne.					Willebrod sent to convert the Frisons; he was the first bishop of U- trecht.	
England The Hep- tarchy. Kings of the Lom- bards in			The un- known au- thor of a book, en- titled, Li- ber Diur- nus Pon- tificum Romano- rum. Egbert, Arch- bishop			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Italy. Luitpert 704 Ragum- bert 704 Aripert 712 Ansprand 712 Luitprand 744 Rachis 750 Aistul- phus 756 Desideri- us 773 The kingdom of the Lom- bards, which subsisted during the space of 206 years, was overturn- ed by CHARLE- MAGNE, who, hav- ing defeat- ed Desid- erius, caused himself to be crown- ed king of the Lom- bards in the year 774			of York Bartholo- mew, a Monk of Edessa, who re- futed the Al- coran Boniface, Arch- bishop of Mentz, com- monly called the A postle of Germa- ny. Anastasi- us Abbot in Pales- tine. Theopha- nes. Aldhelm, bishop of Shire- burn, un- der the Heptar- chy, and nephew to Ina, king of the west Saxons.			
Exarchs of Ra- venna. Theophy- lact 710 Jo. Proco- pins 712 Paul 729 Eutychi- us 752 Exarch-						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
ate subsisted during the space of 185 years. It ended in the reign of Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, who reduced Ravenna, and added it to his dominions. But this prince was obliged by Pepin, king of France, to surrender the Exarchate, with all its territories, castles, &c. to be forever held by P. Stephen III. and his successors in the see of Rome. This is the true foundation of the temporal grandeur of the popes.						

CENTURY IX.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East A. D. Irene 802	Leo III. 816 Stephen V. 817	Atherald 806 Wulfred 830 Theogild 830	Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople. Amalarius, bishop of Triers.	Paulicians, a branch of the Manicheans. Iconoclastes Iconolatæ, or image worshippers. Predestinarians.	The conversion of the Swedes, Danes, Saxons, Huns, Bohemians, Moravians, Slavonians, Russians, Indians, and Bulgarians, which latter occasions a controversy between the Greek and Latin churches.	Photius. Smaragdus. Eginhart. Rabanus Maurus. Abbon. Herempert. Leon. Sergius. Methodius. Walafridus Strabo. John Scot Erigena.
Nicephorus 811 Saturatus 811 Michael Curopolites 818 Leo Armen 820 Michael Balb. 829 Theophilus 842 Michael III. 867 Basilus I. Macedo 886 Leo VI. Philos.	Paschal I. 824 Eugenius II. 827 A schism between Eugenius II. and Zizinnus. Valentine 827 Gregory IV. 844 Sergius II. 847 Leo IV. 855 Pope Joan Bened. III. 858	Celnoth 871 Athelred 889 Plegmund.	Theodore Studita. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyon. Eginhart. Claudius Clement, bishop of Turin. Jonas, bishop of Orleans. Freeulph, bishop of Lysieux. Moses Barceph.	Iconoclastes Iconolatæ, or image worshippers. Predestinarians. Adoptians Transubstantians. Clement, bishop of Turin, who followed the sentiments, of Felix of Urgella.	'The rise of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass. The cause of Christianity suffers in the East under the Saracens, and in Europe under the Normans. The power of the pontiffs increases; that of the bishops diminishes; and the emperors are divested of their ecclesiastical authority. The Decretals are forged, by which the popes extended the limits of their jurisdiction and authority.	Alfred the Great, king of England. His Saxon version of Orosius was never published. Abou-Nabas, an Arabian Poet. The Calif Mamun, an eminent Mathematician and Astronomer.
Emperors of the West. The western Empire was restored, in the year 800, in favour of Charlemagne, king of France. Charlemagne 814 Lewis, the Debonnaire 840 Lothaire 855 Lewis II. 875 Charles II. sur. named	Nicholas I. 867 Adrian II. 872 John VIII. 882 Marinus I. 884 Adrian III. 885 Formosus 897 A schism between Formosus and Sergius.	Theod. Abucara. Petrus Siculus. Nicetas David. Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz. Hilduin. Servatus Lupus. Drepanius Florus. Druthmar. Godes-				N. B. Haroun, the father of this prince sent to Charlemagne a striking clock with springs & wheels, which was

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, and Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
the Bald 877	Boniface VI. 897		challus. Pascasius		The fictitious relics of St. Mark, St. James, and St. Bartholomew, are imposed upon the credulity of the people.	the first ever seen in France, and shows that, at this period, the arts were more cultivated in Asia than in Europe.
Lewis III. 879	Stephen VII. 901		Radbert, the chief of the Transubstantians.		Monks and abbots now first employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.	Albategni, the Mathematician.
Carloman 880	A schism between Stephen VII. John IX. Romanus I. and II. & Theodore II.		Bertram or Ratram of Corby, who refuted the monstrous errors of Radbert, and was at the head of those who denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.		The festival of All-Saints is added, in this century, to the Latin Calendar by Gregory IV. though some authors of note place this institution in the seventh century, and attribute it to Boniface IV.	Albumasar, the Arabian Astronomer.
Charles III. deposed 887			Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt.		The superstitious festival of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, instituted by the Council of Mentz, and confirmed by Pope Nicholas I. and afterward by Leo X.	
After the death of this prince (who was the last king of France that was emperor) Germany and Italy were entirely separated from the French monarchy.			Walafrius Strabo.		The trial by cold water introduced by Pope Eugenius II. though Le Brun, in his <i>Histoire des Piratiques Supersticieuses</i> , endeavours to prove this ridiculous invention more ancient.	
Arnolph 899			Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims.			
Lewis IV.			John Scot Erigena.			
Kings of Spain, i. e. of Lenn and the Asturias.			Ansegius.			
Alphonso the chaste 844			Florus Magister			
Ramiro 851			Prudens, bishop of Troyes.			
Ordogno 862			Remy of Lyons.			
Alphonso III.			Nicholas.			
Kings of France.			Adrian.			
Charlemagne. 814			John VIII.			
Lewis the Debonnaire 840					The Emperor Lewis II. is obliged, by the arrogant pontiff Nicolas, I to perform the functions of	
Charles the Bald 877						
Lewis III. 879						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Carlo-man 884			Pope. Anastasius,		groom, and hold the bridle of this	
Charles III. 888			Bibl. Aux ilius.		Pope's horse, while his pretended holiness was dismounting.	
Eudes 896			Theodulph, bishop of Orleans.		The Legends, or Lives of the Saints, began to be composed in this century.	
Charles the Simple.			Smaragdus.		The Apostles' Creed is sung in the churches—organs, bells, and vocal music introduced in many places—Festivals multiplied.	
Kings of England.			Aldric, bishop of Mans.		The Order of St. Andrew, or the Knights of the Thistle, in Scotland.	
The Heph-tarchy finished by the Union of the seven kingdoms under the government of Egbert.			Ado of Vincenna.		Michael I. Emperor of the East, abdicates the throne, and, with his wife, and six children retires into a monastery.	
Egbert 837			Isidorus Mercator, author of the False Decretals.		Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the Pope.	
Ethelworf 857			Jesse, bishop of Amiens.		The canonization of Saints introduced by Pope Leo II.	
Ethelbald 860			Dungale Halitgaire, bishop of Cambrai.		The University of Oxford founded by Alfred.	
Ethelbert 866			Amulon, archbishop of Lyons.		The sciences	
Ethelred 871			Vandalbert.			
Alfred the Great 890			Angelome Epi-phanes, archbishop of Constantia in the Island of Cyprus.			
Kings of Scotland.			Herric.			
The history of Scotland is divided into four great periods. The first, which commences with Fergus I. 330 years before Christ, and contains a series of 68 kings, which ends with Alpinus, in the year 823, is looked upon as en-			Reginon. Abbon.			
			William, the Librarian.			
			Pope Formosus.			
			Pope Stephen.			
			Methodius, who invented the Slavonian characters, and made a translation of			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
<p>tirely fabulous. We shall therefore begin this chronological list with the second period, which commences with Kenneth II. 854 Donald V. 858</p> <p>Constantine II. 874 Ethus 874 Gregory 893 Donald VI.</p> <p>Kings of Sweden. The origin of this kingdom is covered with uncertainty and fables. Some historians reckon 36 kings before Biorno III. but it is with this latter prince that chronologers generally begin their series.</p> <p>Biorno III. 824</p> <p>Brantmond 827 Sivard 842 Hicroth 856 Charles VI. 868 Biorno IV. 883 Ingo, or Ingelde 891</p>			<p>the Bible for the Bulgarians which was used by the Russians</p> <p>Alfred the Great, king of England, composed a Saxon Paraphrase on the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, a Saxon Version of Orosius, and a Saxon Psalter.</p> <p>The Emperor Basilus, Mac.</p> <p>The Emperor Leo, surnamed the Wise.</p>		<p>ences are cultivated among the Saracens, and particularly encouraged by the Caliph Almamun.</p> <p>Theophilus, from his abhorrence of images, banishes the painters out of the Eastern Empire.</p> <p>Harold, king of Denmark, is dethroned by his subjects, on account of his attachment to Christianity.</p> <p>The university of Paris founded.</p>	

CENTURY X.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East.	John IX. 905	Plegmund 917	Simeon Meta-	No new	Irruption of	This
A. D.	A schism	Athelm 924	phrastes.	heresies	the Huns into	centu-
Leo, the Philosopher 911	between John IX. and Sergius.	Wilhelm Odo 957	Leontius of Byzantium.	were invented during this century.	Germany, and of the Normans into France.	ry, by
Alexander 912	Benedict IV. 906	Dunstan 988	Odo of Cluny.	That of the An-	The Danes invade England.	emine-
		Ethelgar 988	Rathierius bishop of Verona and Liege.	thropomorphites was revived, and the great- est part of the others were con- tinued.	The Moors enter into Spain.	enced, i
Constantine VII. surnamed Porphyrogen 959	Leo V. 906 A schism between Leo V. & Christopher.	Siricius 993	Hippolytus, the Theban.	Thus we find Nes-	The Hungarians, and several Northern nations, converted to Christianity.	style
Romanus Lecapenus took advantage of the youth of this prince, and seized the imperial throne, but was deposed by his son Stephen, and died in 948	Christopher 907 A schism between Christopher and Sergius. Sergius III. 910 Anastasius III. 912 Lando 912 John X. 928 Leo VI. 929 Stephen VIII. 931 John XI. 936	Aluric, or Alfric.	Odo, arch-bishop of Canterbury.	torian, Eutychi- ans, Pau- licians, Ar- meni- ans, An- thropo- morphites and Manichæ- ans, mak- ing a noise in this century.	The Pirate Rollo is made Duke of Nor- mandy, and embraces the Christian faith.	the age
			Rutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria.		The Poles are converted to Christianity under Micislaus, in the year 965.	of bar-
			Saidus, Patriarch of Alexandria.		The Christian religion is es- tablished in Moscovy, Denmark and Nor- way.	barism
			Flodoard.			and ig-
			Joseph Genesius			The
			Atto, bishop of Verceil.			greatest
			Dunstan, Arch-bishop of Canterbury.			part of
						the Ec-
						clesias-
						tical and
						Theolo-
						gical au-
						thors
						men-
						tioned
						in the
						column
						were
						mean,
						igno-
						rant,
						and tri-
						vial wri-
						ters, and
						wrote
						upon
						mean
						and tri-
						vial sub-
						jects.
						At the
						head of
						the
						learned
						men of
						this age
						we must
						place
						Gerbert,
						other-
						wise
						known
						by the
						papal
						denomi-
						nation
						of Syl-
						vester II.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theological Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the West.	Donus II. 972		Oecumenius.		The Turks and Saracens united.	This learned pontiff endeavoured to revive the drooping sciences; and the effects of his zeal were visible in this, but still more in the following century.
Lewis IV. 912	Benedict VI. 975		Odilo.		Edmund king of England, is stabbed at a public feast.	Suidas.
Conrad I. 919	Boniface VII. 934		Burchard.		The Danish war in England begins and continues twelve years.	Geber, an Arabian chemist, celebrated by the learned Boerhaave.
Henry I. surnamed the Fowler 936	Benedict VII. 934		Valerius of Astorga in Spain.		The influence and power of the Monks increase greatly in England.	Constantine Porphyrogen.
Otho I. 937	John XIV. 985		His lives of the Fathers, very different from those that are published, are still in MS. in the library of Toledo.		Feudal tenures begin to take place in France.	Albani, an Arabian astronomer, called by some Albategne.
Otho II. 983	John XV. 985		John Maléla.		The kingdom of Italy is united by Otho to the German empire.	Razi, a celebrated Arabian Chemist and Physician.
Otho III. 999	John XVI. 996		Constantine Porphyrogenetus.		Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes.	Leontius, one of the Byzantine
Kings of Spain, i. e. Leon and Asturias.	A schism between John and Gregory V.		John of Capua.		The Empire of Germany is rendered elective by Otho III.	
Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, abdicates the crown in the year 910	Sylvester II.		Nicholas, Patriarch of Constantinople.			
Garcias 913			Gregory of Cæsarea.			
Ordogno II. 923			Georges.			
Froila II. 924			Epiphanes.			
Alphonso IV. 931			Severus.			
Ramiro II. 950			Moses Bar-Cepha.			
Ordogno III. 955			Alfric, Archbishop of Canterbury.			
Sanchez the Fat 964			Gerbert, Pope.			
Ramiro III. 982			Oswald.			
Bermudo, called, by some, Veremond II. 999			Sisinnius.			
Alphonso V.						
Kings of France.						
Charles the Simple 920						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Ralph, usurps the throne.						tine historians
Lewis d'autre- mere 954						Joseph
Lothaire II. 986						Genesis-
Lewis the Idler, the last king of the line of Charlemagne 987						us.
Third Race.						
Hugh Carpet 996						
Robert.						
Kings of England.						
Edward 925						
Athelstan 941						
Edmund 946						
Edred 955						
Edwy 957						
Edgar 975						
Edward 978						
Ethelred.						
Kings of Scotland.						
Donald V. 903						
Constantine III. 943						
Malcolm I. 953						
Indulfus 967						
Duffus 972						
Cullen 976						
Kenneth III. 994						
Constantine IV. 995						
Grimus.						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Kings of Sweden.						
Ingeld II. 907						
Eric VI. 926						
Eric VII. 940						
Eric VIII. 980						
Olaus II. the Tributary.						
The beginnings of the Danish monarchy are so fabulous, that we shall begin with Harold, who first embraced the Christian religion.						
Harold VI. Sweyn 980						
Poland.						
Micislaus, the first Christian duke, dies 999						

CENTURY XI.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East. A. D. Basilius III. 1025 Constantine VIII. 1028 Romanus II. Argyr. 1034 Michael IV. Paphl. 1041 Michael V. Calaphates 1051 Constantine IX. Monomach. 1054 Theodora 1056 Michael VI. Strat. 1057 Isaac I. Comen. 1059 Constantine X. Ducas 1067 Romanus III. Diogenes 1071 Nicephorus II. Boutonates 1081 Alexis I. Comnen.	Silvester II. 1003 John XVII. 1003 John XVIII. 1009 Sergius IV. 1012 Benedict VIII. 1024 A schism between Gregory and Benedict. John XIX. 1033 Benedict IX. 1044 A schism between the two Johns and Benedict. Gregory VI. 1046 Clement II. 1048 Damasus II. 1049 Leo IX. 1054 Victor II. 1057 Stephen IX. 1059 Benedict X. 1059 Nicholas II. 1061 A schism between Nicholas I. and Benedict Alexander II. 1073 A schism between Alexand. II. and	Aluric or Alfric 1006 Elphegus, massacred by the Danes in the year 1012 Livingus 1020 Agelmoth 1038 Eadsinus 1050 Robert Gemetic 1052 Stigand 1069 Lanfranc 1089 Anselm.	Dithmar, bishop of Mersebourg. Leo the Grammarian. Aimon. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres. Adelbold. Utrecht. Alexius, Patriarch of Constantinople. Bernu, of Augsburg. Ademar. The Brunos. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. Theophanes Cerameus. Nilus Doxopatrius. Michael Psellus. Michael Cerularius. Simcon, the Younger Theophylact, a Burglarian. Cardinal Humbert. Petrus Damianus. Marianus Scotus. Anselm, Arch-	Berenger, famous for his opposition to the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation. Roscelin, a Tritheite. A sect of French Manichæans, condemned in the council of Orleans.	The Crusades are carried on with all the enormities that usually attend a blind, extravagant, and inhuman zeal. Godfrey of Bouillon takes possession of Jerusalem in the year 1099. A contest between the Emperors and Popes, in which the latter discover a most arrogant and despotic spirit. The dignity of Cardinal is first instituted in this century. The Moors are driven by degrees from several parts of Spain; hence arose the division of that country into so many little kingdoms. Mathilda, daughter of Bonifacc, Duke of Tuscany, leaves all her possessions to the church of Rome, in consequence of her passionate attachment to Hildebrand, otherwise known by the papal name of Gregory VII. with whom she lived in a licentious commerce.	Leo, the Grammarian Adelbort. Michael Psellus. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Guirene, the inventor of Musical notes Wippo. John Scylitzes. Avicenna, an Arabian philosopher. Stephen the first Christian King of Hungary. Alphes, a Jew. Josippon, or the false Josephus. Ferduusi, a Persian poet Roscelin John, the philosopher John Cuiropalata, one of the Byzantine historians.

Sover- eign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canter- bury.	Ecclesias- tical and Theolog Writers.	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remarkable Events—Re- ligious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emper- ors of the West. Otho III. 1002 Henry II. 1024 Conrad II. 1030 Henry III. 1056 Henry IV.	Cadalous. Gregory VII. 1086 A schism between Gregory VII. and Guy, bishop of Ravenna. Victor III. 1088 Urban II. 1099		bishop of Can- terbury, Ivo, bish- op of Chartres. Hilde- bert, Arch- bishop of Tours. Pope Gregory VII. Gerhard. Hugh of Breteuil. Berthold. Herman- nus Con- rict. Peter, Patriarch of Anti- och. Glaber Radul- phus. Theodui- nus, bish- op of Leigh. Adelman. Vicetas Pectora- tus. Leo of Bulgaria. Constant. Guit- mundus. Manas- ses, Arch- bishop of Rheims. John, Pa- triarch of Antioch. Sigefrid. Samonus of Gaza. Samuel of Mo- rocco, a convert- ed Jew.		Sicily, Castile, Poland, and Hungary, are erected into kingdoms. The kingdom of Burgundy and Arles is transferred to the Emperor Conrad II. by Rodolphus king of Burgundy Several of the Popes are look- ed upon as Ma- gicians ;—as, in these times of darkness, learn- ing, and more especially phi- losophy and ma- thematics, were looked upon as magic. Investitures introduced in his century. The tyranny of the popes is obly opposed by the Empe- ors Henry I. I. and III by William I. king of England, and other monarchs of that nation, by Philip king of France, and by the British and German churches. Baptism is performed by triple immer- sion. The Sabbath Fasts introdu- ced by Gregory VII.	
Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and the As- turias. Alphonso 1027 Vere- mond III. 1037 Kings of Leon and Castile united. Ferdin- and I surnamed the Great. 1065 Sancho II. 1073 Alphonso VI. Kings of France. Robert 1031 Henry I. 1060 Philip I. Kings of England. Ethelred 1016 Edmond Ironside 1017						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops or Rome.	Arch bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Canute, the Great, king of Denmark 1035			John XI. phillinus Lambert. A famous but anonymous, work, called Micrologus.		The Cistercian, Carthusian, and Whipping Orders, with many others, are founded in this century.	
Harold, Harefoot, 1039			Adam of Bremen.		The Emperor Henry IV. goes barefooted to the insolent Pontiff Gregory VII. at Canusium, and does homage to this spiritual tyrant in the most ignominious manner. The same emperor, however, besieges Rome soon after, and makes a noble stand against the pontiff.	
Hardicanute 1041			Benno of Ravenna.			
Edward the Confessor 1066			Nicholas of Me-thone.			
Harold 1066			Philip the Solitary.			
Norman Line.			Othlon of Fulda.			
William the Conqueror. 1087			Tangmar.			
William Rufus. 1100			Gui Are-tin.			
Kings of Scotland.			Eugesip-pus.			
Grimus 1003			Dominic of Grado.			
Malcolm II. 1033			Guit-mond.			
Donald VII. by some called Duncan 1040			Alberic, Osborn, a Monk of Canterbury.			
Macbeth 1057						
Malcolm III. 1093						
Donald VIII. de throned. 1094						
Duncan II. 1096						
Donald again 1097						
Kings of Sweden.						
Olaus II. 1019						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events-Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Asmund 1035						
Asmundslem 1041						
Hakon 1059						
Stenchil 1061						
Ingo III. 1064						
Halstan 1080						
Philip.						
Kings of Denmark. Sweyn 1014						
Canute the Great, king of England 1035						
Harold 1040						
Hardicanute 1041						
Magnus 1048						
Sweyn II. 1074						
Harold VII. 1085						
St. Canute 1086						
Olaus III. 1086						
Eric III.						
Kings of Poland. Boleslaus first king 1025						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Micislaus 1034						
Interregnum.						
Casimir 1058						
Boleslaus II. 1079						
Ladislaus.						
Kings of Jerusalem.						
Godfrey, chosen king in 1099, dies in 1100						
Baldwin I.						

CENTURY XII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Romc.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events,—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East. A. D. Alexius I. Comnen. 1118	Anti-popes, Paschal II. 1118 Clement, Albrecht, Theodore, and Maginulph. Gelasius II. 1119 Calistus II. 1124 Honorius II. 1130 Innocent III. 1143 Celestine II. 1144 Lucius II. 1145 Eugenius III. 1153 Anastasius IV. 1154	Anselm 1109 Rodolphus 1122 William Corbeil 1136 Theobald 1168 Thomas Becket 1170 Richard 1183 Baldwin 1191 Reginald Fitz-jocelin 1191 Hubert Walter.	Gilbert, Abbot of Westminster. Guibert. Sigebert of Gemblours. Peter Alphonso. Odo of Orleans. Godfrey of Vendosme. Rupert of Dyits. Baldric. Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux. Bernard of Clairval. Abelard. Æthelred, Baldwin, Archbp. of Canterbury. Euthymius Zigab William of Somersct. John of Salisbury. Thomas Becket, Archbp. of Canterbury. Gervais, a Monk of Canterbury. Nicephorus of Brienn. Anselm, bishop of Havelb. Jo. Zonaras. Mich.	The Bogomiles and Catharists were a kind of Manichæans. The Paganians were a kind of Arians, who also discovered a strange attachment to the ceremonial law of Moses. Eon, a madman, rather than a heretic. The same thing may be said of Tranquilinus. As to Arnold of Brescia, the Petrobrussians, Henricians, Waldenses, and Apostolics, if allowance be made for some few points, they rather deserve the title of REFORMERS and	The Slavonians and the inhabitants of the island of Rugen receive the light of the Gospel, and their example is followed by the Livonians and Finlanders. The state of affairs in Asiatic Tartary changes in favour of the Christians, by the elevation of Prestor John. The crusade is renewed. The kingdom of Jerusalem is overturned, and the affairs of the Christians in Palestine decline. A Third Crusade undertaken. The three famous military orders instituted, viz. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—The Knights Templars—The Teutonic Knights of St. Mary. The original MS. of the famous Pandect of Justinian is discovered in the ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in 1137, and this emperor makes	Robert Bacon. Anselm of Laon. Vaccarius. Leoninus, the supposed introducer of Latin Rhymes. Roger Hoveden. John of Salisbury. William of Somersct. John Zonaras. George Cedrenus. John Cinamus. Silvester Girald, bishop of St. David's. Godfrey of Viterbo. William of Newburgh, an English Historian. Pelagius, bishop of Oviedo. John of Milan, author of the poem called, Schola Salernitana. Robert Pulein, an Eng-
John II. Comnen. 1143						
Emanuel Comnen. 1180						
Alexius II. Comnen. 1183						
Andronicus Comnen. 1185						
Isaac II. Ang 1195						
Alexius III Ang. or Comnen.						
Emperors of the West.						
Henry IV. 1106						
Henry V. 1125						
Lotharius II. 1138						
Conrad III. 1152						
Frederick, surnamed Barbarossa. 1190						
Henry VI. 1197						
Philip.						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Kings of Spain, i. e. Leon and Castile. Alphonso VI. 1109 Alphonso VII. 1137 Alphonso VIII. 1157 Sancho III. 1158 Ferdinand II. 1175 Alphonso IX.			Glycas. Hug. Victorinus. Eadmerus. George Cedrenus. Peter, the Venerable. Honorius of Autun. Foucher. Alger. Gratian. Peter Lombard. Henry of Huntington. William bishop of Rheims. Constantine Harmen. Orderic Vital. Constantine Manass. Zacharias Chrysop. Peter of Blois. Peter Comestor. Peter de Celles. Peter of Poitiers. John Cinamus. John Belet. Helmold. Gislebert, bishop of London. Stephen Harding. George Xiphilin. Alexand. Arist. Godfrey	WITNESSES to the TRUTH, than that of Heretics. Peter Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée differed from the notions commonly received with respect to the Holy Trinity. The Albigenses, a branch of the Waldenses, are branded with the denomination of Manichæans.	a present of it to the city of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. The contest between the emperors and popes is renewed under Frederick Barbarossa and Adrian IV. The insolence of the popes excessive. Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral. The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops, and soon after monopolized by the popes. The Scholastic Theology, whose jargon did such mischief in the church, had its rise in this century. The seeds of the reformation sown, in this century, by the Waldenses, and other eminent men in England and France. Pope Paschal II. orders the Lord's supper to be administered only in one kind, and retrenches the	lish Cardinal. Abraham Aben-Ezra. John and Isaac Tzetzese. Henry of Huntington. Nicetas. Wernier. Moses Maimonides. Anvari, a Persian Astronomer. Portius Azo. Nestor, a Russian Historian. Falconus. Benjamin de Tudela, a Spanish Jew, whose Travels were translated by Barhier. Averroes. Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica. Salomon Jarchi. Alhasen, an Arabian who composed a large work on Optics. George Elinacius, author of the History of
Kings of France. Philip I. 1108 Lewis VI. surnamed the Gross 1137 Lewis VII. surnamed the Young 1180 Phillip Aug.						
Kings of England. Henry I. 1135 Stephen 1154 Henry II. 1189 Richard I. 1199 John.						
Kings of Scotland. Edgar 1106 Alexander 1124 David 1153						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Malcolm IV. 1165 William			of Viterbo. Theod. Balsamon. Richard of St. Victor. William of Auxerre. Bruno of Ast. Simeon of Durham.		The Canon Law formed into a body, by Gratian. Academical degrees introduced in this century. Learning revived and encouraged in the University of Cambridge. The pope declares war against Roger king of Sicily, who takes from his Holiness Capua and Beneventum. The council of Clarendon held against Becket. The kings of England and France go to the Holy Land. Henry II. of England, being called by one of the Irish kings to assist him, takes possession of Ireland.	the Saracens, translated by Erpenius. Jeffrey of Monmouth Henry of Huntington.
Kings of Sweden. Philip 1110 Ingo IV. 1129 Ragwald 1140 Magnus, deposed in 1143 Suercher 1160 Eric, the Holy 1161 Charles VII. 1168 Canute 1192 Suercher II.						
Kings of Denmark. Eric II. 1101 Nicholas 1135 Eric III. 1136 Eric IV. 1147 Sweyn IV. 1155 Canute V. 1155 Valdemar 1182 Canute VI.						
Kings of Poland. Uladislaus 1102 Boleslaus III. 1139 Uladislaus II. 1146						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events.—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Boleslaus IV. 1173						
Micislaus 1173						
Casimir II. 1195						
Lescus.						
Kings of Jerusalem.						
Baldwin I. 1118						
Baldwin II. 1131						
Foulques 1141						
Baldwin III. 1162						
Almeric 1175						
Baldwin IV. 1185						
Baldwin V. 1186						
Guy of Lausignan. Jerusalem was retaken by the Infidels, in 1167						
Almeric, from 1196 to 1205						
Kings of Portugal. Alphonso I. proclaimed king in 1189 dies in 1185						
Sancho I.						

CENTURY XIII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East. A.D. Alexius III. de-throned in 1203 Alexius IV. de-throned in 1204 Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murzuphle 1204 Latin Emperors of the East residing at Constantinople. Balduin I. 1205 Henry 1216 Peter 1221 Robert 1229 Balduin II. 1261 Greek Emperors residing at Nice. Theodore Lascaris 1222 John Ducas III. 1255 Theodore	Innocent III. 1216 Honorius III. 1226 Gregory IX. 1241 Celestine IV. 1243 Innocent IV. 1254 Alexander IV. 1261 Urban IV. 1264 Clement IV. 1268 Gregory X. 1276 Innocent V. 1276 Adrian V. 1276 John XX. 1277 Nicholas III. 1280 Martin IV. 1285 Honorius IV. 1288 Nicholas IV. 1292 Celestine V. 1294	Hub. Walter 1204 Stephen Langton 1228 Richard Wethershed 1251 St. Edmund 1242 Boniface 1270 Robert Kilwardby 1278 John Peckham 1291 Robert Winchelsey.	Joachim. John, Bishop of Macedonia. Demetrius Chomatenus Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh. Nicetas Choniata. Francois d' Assise. Allan de l'Isle. Jacobus de Vitriaco. Peter, the Monk Anthony of Padua. Germanus Cæsarius. William of Paris. Raymon of Pennafort. Alexander de Hales. Edmund Rich, Archbp. of Canterbury. Thomas of Spalatro. John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Roger Bacon.	The Waldenses. Nestorians. Jacobites The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, otherwise called Beghards and Beguttes, Beghins and Tur lupins. Amalric. Joachim. Wilhelmina. The sect of the Apostles. John of Parina, author of the Everlasting Gospel. Flagellants, or Whippers. Circumcellions.	The Mahometan religion triumphs over Christianity in China and the Northern parts of Asia, by flattering the passions of voluptuous princes. A papal embassy is sent to the Tartars by Innocent IV. A fourth Crusade is undertaken by the French and Venetians, who make themselves masters of Constantinople with a design to restore the throne to Isaac Angelus, who had been dethroned by his brother Ducas. The Emperor Isaac is put to death in a sedition, and his son Alexius strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ringleader of this faction. The Crusaders take Constantinople a second time, dethrone Ducas, and elect Baldwin Count of Flanders, Emperor of the Greeks. The empire of Franks in the East, which had subsisted fifty-seven years, is overturned by Michael Palæologus.	Roger Bacon, one of the great restorers of learning and philosophy. Saxo- Grammaticus. Ralph de Diceto. Walter of Coventry. Alexander of Paris, the founder of French poetry. Villehardouin, an Historian. Accursi of Florence. Kimchi, a Spanish Jew. Conrad de Litch-enaw. John Hollywood, called Desacro bos co, author of the Sphæra Mundi. Actuari- us, a Greek Physician. Rod. Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. Michael Coniat, bishop of Athens. Ivel. Rigord.

Sover- eign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canterbu- ry.	Ecclesias- tical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remarkable Events—Reli- gious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Lascaris 1259			Albert, the Great.		A Fifth Cru- sade—which is carried on by the confederate arms of Italy and Germany.	an Histo- rian.
John Lascaris IV. 1259			Robert Grosse- teste.		Damietta taken—but soon after retaken.	Pierre de Vignes.
Michael Palæolo- gus re- takes Con- stantino- ple in the year 1261, and thus unites in his per- son the Latin and Greek Em- pires ; he dies in 1283			Vincent de Beau- vais.		The fleet of the Crusaders ruined by the Saracens.	Matthew Paris.
			Robert Sorbon.		The Fifth Crusade under- taken by Lewis IX. who retakes Damietta, is af- terward re- duced, with his army, to the greatest ex- tremities,—dies of the plague in a second Cru- sade, and is canonized.	Suffridus.
			George Aeropoli- ta.		The Knights of the Teutonic Order, under command of Herman de Saltza, conquer and convert to Christianity the Prussians, at the desire of Conrad, duke of Massovia.	Sozome- ne, auth- or of the Universal Chronolo- gy, which is yet in MS. in the pos- session of the Regu- lar Can- ons of Fi- soli, near Florence
			Hugo de St. Caro.		Christianity is propagated a- mong the Ara- bians in Spain.	Barthol.
			George Metoichi- ta.		The philoso- phy of Aristotle triumphs over all the systems that were in vogue before this century.	Cotton of Nor- wich ; see
			Guil- laume de St. A- mour.		The power of creating Bi- shops, Abbots, &c. is claimed by the Roman pontiffs, whose wealth and re- venues are thereby greatly augmented.	Whar- ton's Anglia Sacra.
Androni- cus II.			Nicépho- rus Blem.			Engel- bert.
			Thomas Aquinas.			Thomas Wicke, an Eng- lish His- torian.
			Bonaventura.			Vitellio, a Polish Mathe- matician.
			Gilbert of Tournay.			Albert, the Great.
Empe- rors of the West.			John of Paris, an opposer of Tran- substan- tiation and Pa- pal Ty- ranny.			Colonna, Archbp. of Messi- na.
Philip 1203			John Bee- cus.			Michael Scot, the transla- tor of Aristo- tle.
Otho IV. 1218			Nicetas Acemin- atus.			Gregory Albusa- rius.
Frederic II. 1250			Theodore Lascaris.			Foscarari of Bolog- na.
Civil wars and an Inter- regnum, during which Conrad of Suabia, William count of Holland, Richard king of England, Alphonso of Spain,			Arsenius. George Pachy- mer. George the Cyp- rian. Stephen Langton, Archbp of Canterbury.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Ottocar, of Bohemia, appear on the scene of action. Rodolphus of Hapsburg is elected Emperor, and dies in 1291 Adolphus of Nassau 1298 Albert 1. Kings of Spain, i. c. of Leon and Castile. Alphonso IX. 1214 Henry I. 1217 Ferdinand III. 1252 Alphonso X. 1284 Sancho IV. 1295 Ferdinand IV. Kings of France. Philip Aug. 1223 Lewis VIII. Lewis IX. 1270 Philip III. the Hardy 1285 Philip IV. the Fair. Kings of England. John 1216 Henry III.			Robert Capito. Thomas Cantimprat. Richard Middleton. William Durand. Ægidius de Columna. Guil. Peraldus. Martin Polon. Raymond Martin. Gregory Albufarius. Jacob de Voragine, Guillaume de Seignelai, bishop of Auxerre. William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris. Henry of Ghent. Pope Boniface VIII.		John, king of England, excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. is guilty of the basest compliances through his slavish fear of that insolent pontiff. The Inquisition established in Narbonne Gaul, and committed to the direction of Dominic and his Order, who treat the Waldenses, and other reputed heretics, with the most inhuman cruelty. The adoration of the Host is introduced by Pope Honorius III. The Magna Charta is signed by king John and his barons on the 15th of June, at Runnemedede, near Windsor. A debate arises between the Dominicans and Franciscans concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Jubilees instituted by Pope Boniface VIII. The Sicilian Vespers—when the French in Sicily, to the number of 3000 were massacred in one evening	Alphonso king of Castile. Cavalcanti of Florence. Dinus, a famous Jurist. Marco Paolo, a Venetian, whose travels in China are curious. Francis Barberini, an Italian Poet.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors
Edward I.					at a signal given by John Prochyta, a Sicilian nobleman.	
Kings of Scotland.					Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederic of Austria beheaded at Naples by the counsel of Pope Clement IV.	
William 1214					The Jews are driven out of France by Lewis IX. and all the copies of the Talmud, that could be found, are burnt.	
Alexander II. 1249					The college of electors founded in the empire.	
Alexander III. 1286					The association of the Hans Towns.	
Interregnum.					The Dominicans, Franciscans, Servites, Mendicants, and the Hermits of St. Augustin, date the origin of their orders from this century.	
John Balliol.					The fables concerning the removal of the chapel of Loretto ; the Vision of Sim. Stochius ; the Wandering Jew ; and St. Anthony's	
Kings of Sweden.						
Suercher II. 1211						
Eric X. 1218						
Jean I. 1222						
Eric XI. 1250						
Walde- mar 1276						
Magnus 1290						
Birger.						
Kings of Denmark.						
Canute VI. 1202						
Walde- mar II. 1241						
Eric VI. 1250						
Abel 1252						
Christopher 1259						
Eric VII. 1286						
Eric VIII.						
Kings of Poland.						
Lescus V. 1203						
Uladis- laus III. 1226						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Boleslaus V 1279 Lescus VI 1289 Boleslaus, Henry, and Uladislaus, take the title of Governors. Premislaus 1296 Uladislaus IV. deposed in 1300 Winceslaus, king of Bohemia.					obliging an ass to adore the sacrament, are invented about this time. The Festivals of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, and of the Holy Sacrament or Body of Christ instituted. The present House of Austria take their rise in this century. Wales is conquered by Edward, and united to England. There is an uninterrupted succession of English parliaments from the year 1293.	
Kings of Portugal. Sancho I. 1212 Alphonso II. 1223 Sancho II. 1246 Alphonso III. 1294 Denis.						

CENTURY XIV.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East A. D. Andronicus II. 1332 Andronicus, the Younger. 1341 John Cantacuzenus usurps the government under John Palæologus, and holds it till the year 1355. John VI. Palæol. 1390 Andronicus IV. 1392 Emanuel II.	Boniface VIII. 1303 Benedict XI. 1314 Clement V. 1316 John XXI. 1334 A schism between Peter and John. Benedict XII. 1342 Clement VI. 1352 Innocent VI. 1362 Urban V. 1372 A schism between Urban and Clement. Gregory XI. 1378 The death of Gregory IX. occasioned that violent schism that threw the Western church into the utmost confusion. The church of Rome had two Popes, one residing at Rome, the other at Avignon. At Rome. Urban VI. 1389	Robert Winchelsey 1313 Walter Raynold 1327 Simon Mepham 1338 J. Stratford 1348 Thomas Bradwardin 1349 Simon Islip 1365 Simon Langham 1374 Simon Sudbury 1381 W Courtney 1396 Thomas Arundel	Nichephorus Calistus. Raymond Lully. Mattheus Blastares Barlaam. Greg. Acindynus, John Cantacuzenus Nicephorus Greg. Jno Duns Scotus. Andrew of New-castle. Francis Mayron Durand of St. Portian. Nicholas de Lyra. John Bacon. William Occam. Nicholas Triveth. Andrew Horne. Richard Bury. Walter Burley. Richard Hampole. Robert Holkot. Thomas Bradwardin, Archbishop of Canterbury. John Wickliff. Thomas Stubbs,	Waldenses, Palamites, Hesychasts, & Quietists, three different names for one sect. Spiritual Franciscans. Ceceus Asculanus, who was burnt at Florence by the Inquisition, for making some experiments in mechanics that appeared miraculous to the vulgar. Echard. Johan de Mercuria. Beghards, and Beguines. As to the Cellites or Lollards, they cannot be esteemed Heretics, The followers of John Wickliff deserve an eminent place with their leader, in the	Fruitless attempts made to renew the Crusades. Christianity encouraged in Tartary and China; but loses ground toward the end of this century. The Lithuanians and Jagello, their prince, converted to the Christian faith in the year 1386. Many of the Jews are compelled to receive the Gospel. Philosophy and Grecian literature are cultivated with zeal in this century. The disputes between the Realists and Nominalists revived. Philip the Fair, king of France, opposes with spirit the tyrannic pretensions of the pope to a temporal jurisdiction over kings and princes, and demands a general council to depose Boniface VIII. whom he accuses of Here-	Dante, the principal restorer of Philosophy and Letters, and also one of the most sublime poets of modern times. Petrarch Boccaccio Chaucer. Matthew of Westminster. Nicholas Trivet. Nicephorus Gregoras, the compiler of the Byzantine History. Theodore Metochista. Guillaume de Nangis, Historian. Henry Stero, Historian. Dinus Mugellanus. Evrard, Historian. Hayton, an Armenian Historian. Albertino Mussato, Orderick de Forli. Lupold,

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Henry II. 1379	Boniface IX.		John de Burgo.	Nicholas of Calabria.	Simony, and several enormities.	bishop of Bamberg.
John I. 1390	At Avignon.		William Wolfort.	Martin		Peter of Duis-
Henry III.	Clement VII. not acknowledged 1394		The last thirteen all English Authors.	Gonsalve Reghard	The papal authority declines.	bourg, an Historian.
Kings of France.			Peter Aureolus.	Bartoldus de Rorbach.	The residence of the popes removed to Avignon.	Albert of Strasburg, an Histor.
Philip the Fair 1314	Benedict XIII.		John Basolis.	The Dan-		Barlaam of Calabria, Master of Petrarch.
Lewis X. Hutin 1316			Bernard Guido.			Joinville.
Philip V. 1321			Alvarus Pelagius.		The Universities of Avignon, Persia, Orleans, Florence, Cahors, Heidelberg, Prague, Perpignan, Cologn, Pavia, Cracovia, Vienna, Geneva, Orange, Sienna, Erfurt, Angers, founded.	Peter de Apono, Physician and Astronomer.
Philip VI. Valois 1350			Theophanes, bishop of Nice.			Marsilius of Padua a famous Lawyer.
John 1364			Philotheus.			John Andre, an eminent Jurist.
Charles V. 1380			Antonius Andreas.			Leontius Pilato one of the restorers of learning.
Charles VI.			Herveus Natalis.			Gentilisde Foligno.
Kings of England.			Thomas of Strasburg.			Ismael Abulfeda, an Arabian prince.
Edward I. 1307			Raynerius of Pisa.		The rise of the Great western schism, which destroyed the unity of the Latin church, and placed at its head two rival popes.	Peter of Ferrara.
Edward II. 1327			John of Fribourg.			Arnold of Ville-neuve.
Edward III. 1377			Pope Clement VI.			William Grisant, an English Mathematician.
Richard II. 1399			Thomas Joysius.			Homodei of Milan.
Henry IV.			John of Naples.			Albergotti
Kings of Scotland.			Albert of Padua.		John Wickliff opposes the Monks, whose licentiousness and ignorance were scandalous and recommends the study of the Holy Scriptures.	
John Balliol 1306			Michael Cesenas.			
Robert Bruce 1329			Gregory Palamas.			
David II. 1370			Andronicus.			
Robert II. 1390			Peter of Duisbourg.			
Robert III.			Ludolf Saxon.			
Kings of Sweden.			Cardinal Cajetan.		A warm contest arises among the Francisans about the poverty of Christ and his Apostles.	
Birger 1326			James of Viterbo.			
Magnus 1368			Cardinal Balde.			
Albert, defeated by Margaret			George of Rimini.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
queen of Denmark in 1387, dies in the year 1396 Margaret.			Pope Benedict II. Gui of Perpignan. Nicholas Cabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica. Richard, bishop of Ardmagh Demetrius Cydonius. Petrarch. Peter Berchorius. John Cyprissothes. Nicholas Oresme. Philip Ribot. Nilus Rhodius. Marsilius Pat. Maximus Plan. Petrarch. John Taulerus. Greg. Palamas. Nic. Eymericus. John Rusbroch. Manuel Caleca. Catherine of Sienna. St. Bridget Gerhard of Zutphen. Pierre Ailli.		Another between the Scotists and Thomists, about the doctrines of their respective chiefs. Pope Clement V. orders the Jubilee, which Boniface had appointed to be held every hundredth year, to be celebrated twice in that space of time. The Knights Templars are seized and imprisoned ; the greatest part of them put to death, and their Order suppressed. The rise of the Roman empire in 1303. The Golden Bull, containing rules for the election of an Emperor, and a precise account of the dignity and privileges of the electors is issued out by Charles IV. Pope Clement VI. adds the county of Avignon to the Papal territories. The Emperor Henry VII. dies, and is supposed by some authors to have been poisoned by a consecrated wafer, which he received at the sacrament from	of Arezzo. Philip of Leyden. Baldus de Ubaldis. Froissard, a French Historian.
Kings of Denmark. Eric VIII. 1321 Christopher II. 1333 Waldemar III. 1375 Olaus 1387 Margaret.						
Kings of Poland. Wincelaud 1305 Uladislaus re-ascends the throne, and dies in 1333 Casimir III. 1370, the last of the Piasts. Lewis, king of Hungary 1381						
Interregnum. Uladislaus Jagellon, duke of Lithuania.						
Kings of Portugal. Dennis 1325 Alphonso IV. 1357 Pedro the Justiciary 1367						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Ferdinand 1333			wrote against the Papal Jurisdiction.		the hands of Bernard Politian, a Dominican Monk. This account is denied by authors of good credit.	
Interregnum. John I.			Philippe de Mazieres.		The matter, however, is still undecided.	
Ottoman Emperors. The ancient history of the Turks extends from the beginning of the Seventh to the commencement of the Fourteenth century. The modern commences about the beginning of the Fourteenth century.			Jordan of Quedlinburg.		Gun-powder is invented by Schwartz, a Monk.	
Othman 1327			Barth. Albici of Pisa, author of the famous book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ.		The Mariner's Compass is invented by John Goia, or as others allege, by Flavio.	
Or Khan 1359			Fabrizio, Bishop of Chartres.		The city of Rhodes is taken from the Saracens, in the year 1300, by the Knights Hospitallers, or, as they are now called, Knights of Malta.	
Amurat, or Morad 1389			Michael Anglianus Raymond Jordon.		Tamerlane extends his conquests in the East.	
Bajazet.			Jac. de Theramo.		The Bible is translated into French by the order of Charles V.	
			Manuel Chrysoloras		The Festival of the Holy Lance and Nails that pierced Jesus Christ instituted by Clement V. Such was this pontiff's arrogance, that once, while he was dining, he ordered Dandalus, the Venetian ambassador, to be chained under the table like a dog.	
			Cardinal Francis. Zarabella, with many others too numerous to mention.		The beginning of the Swiss Cantons.	

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
					<p>The Emperors, Lewis of Bavaria, Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward III king of England, who opposed the tyranny of the Popes, may be looked upon as witnesses to the truth and preparers of the Reformation. To these we may add Durand, Gerson, Olivus, who called the pope Antichrist, and Wickliff, who rejected Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Adoration of the Host, Purgatory, Meritorious Satisfactions by Penance, Auricular Confession, the Celibacy of the Clergy's Papal Excommunications, the Worship of images, the Virgin and Relics.</p> <p>The Order of the Garter is instituted in England by Edward III.</p>	

CENTURY XV.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors of the East. A. D. Manuel II. 1425	Boniface IX. 1404 Innocent VII. 1406 Gregory XII. deposed 1409 Alexander V. 1410 John XXII. deposed 1417 Martin V. 1431 Eugenius IV. 1441 A schism. The council of Basil depose Eugenius, and elect Amadeus, first Duke of Savoy, who assumes the title of Felix V. Eugenius however triumphs in the issue. Nicholas V. 1455 Callistus III. 1453 Pius II. 1464 Paul II. 1471 Sixtus IV. 1484 Innocent VIII. 1492 Alexander VI. 1494	Thomas Arundel 1413 H. Chicheley 1443 John Stafford 1452 John Kemp 1453 Thomas Bourchier 1486 J. Morton 1500	John Huss. Jerome of Prague. Paulus Anglicus. John Ger-son. Herman de Petra. Theod. de Niem. Arch-bishop of Cambray. Tho. Valdensis. Pope Alexander V. John Capereolus. Peter de Ancharan. Nicholas de Clemin- ingis. Theod. Urias. Alphons. Tostat. John, Patriarch of Antioch. Mark of Ephesus. Cardinal Bessarion. G. Scholarius. G. Gemistius, John de Turrecremata. George of Trapezondc. John Capistran. Laurentius Valla. John of Segovia	The Waldenses. The Wickliffites. The White Brethren. The Men of understanding, who were headed by Egidius Cantar and William of Hildernissen. Picard, an Adamite. The following deserve rather the denomination of Reformers than Heretics, viz. John Huss. Jerome of Prague. Branches of the Hussites. The Calixtines. Orbites Orphans. Tarborites. Bohemian Brethren. As also John Petit. John Wellus. Peter Osma. Matth. Grabon.	The Moors and Jews are converted in Spain, by force. In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus opens a passage into America, by the discovery of the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica. Constantinople taken by the Turks in the year 1453. Letters flourish in Italy, under the protection of the House of Medici and the Neapolitan monarchs of the House of Arragon. The calamities of the Greeks, under the Turkish government, conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins. The council of Constance is assembled by the Emperor Sigismund in the year 1414. John Huss and Jerome of Prague are committed to the flames by a decree of that council. The council of Basil is opened in the year 1431, and in it the reformation of the	Laurentius Valla, the great restorer of Latin elocution. Leonard Aretin. Gasparini. William Lynwood. Alexander Chartier Gob. Persona. Fr. Frezzi. Christine of Pisi. Paul de Castro. Poggio of Florence. John Fortescue, High Chancellor of England. Theod. Gaza. Bart. Facio. Dluglossus, a Polish Historian. R. Sancti de Arevallo. Laon. Calcondilas. J. Savonarola. Marcilius Ficinus. John Picus de Mirandula. Marc. Coc. Sabellius. Forrestus. Ant. Bon-sinius Jo-

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Henry IV. 1474			Franc. de la Place.		church is attempted in vain	vian. Pontanus.
Ferdinand in right of Isabella.			Reginald, bishop of St. Asaph.		Horrible enormities committed by the popes of this century, and more especially by Alexander VI.	Leonard Justinian G. Gemistus.
Kings of France.			Antonin, Archbishop of Florence.		The council of Constance remove the Sacramental Cup from the laity, and declare it lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made to Heretics	J. Alvarot Guarino de Veroncon.
Charles VI.			Nicholas de Cusa, bishop of Brixen, and Cardinal.			J. Juv. de Ursins.
Charles VII. 1461			Thomas a Kempis.			Maff. Vegio.
Lewis XI. 1483			Anton. de Roselis.			Flavio Biondo.
Charles VIII. 1498			Rickel.			J. Argynopuleus.
Lewis XII.			Ducas.			Dr. Thomas Ly-nacrc.
Kings of England.			Bened. de Accoltis.			The Strozi.
Henry IV. 1413			Guill. de Aoupe-lande.			zi.
Henry V. 1422			James Paradise, an English Carthusian.			Bon. Morbitius.
Henry VI. dethroned in 1461			Eneas Sylvius Picolom, Pope Pius II.			P. Callim.
Edward IV. 1482			Leon Justinian.			Esperiente.
Edward V. 1483			John Gobel.			Jul. Pom.
Richard III. 1485			Alphonso de Spina.			pom. La tus.
Henry VII.			Greg. de Heymbourg.			Angel.
Kings of Scotland.			Theod. Lelio.			Politian.
Robert III. 1406			Henry of Cocum.			Fulgosi.
James I. 1437			J. Ant. Campanus.			A. Ureeus.
James II. 1460			Alex. de Imola.			Codrus.
James III. 1488			Henry Harphius.			Mich. Marullus.
James IV.			J. Perez.			Oliver de la Marche.
Kings of Sweden and Denmark.			P. de Natalibus.			Caiado.
Margaret 1412						Abarban.
Eric IX. deposed in 1433						Calepin.
						Bebel.
						Martial d.
						Paris.
						Phil. de Comines.
						Al. Achilini.
						Scipio Carteromaeo.
						John Baptiste Porto.
						Aldus Manutius.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes, or Bishops of Rome.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Christopher III. 1448			B. Platina. P. Niger. John de Wessalia		The Universities of Leipsic, Louvain, Fribourg, Rosstock, Basil, Tubingen, Wurtzburg, Turin, Ingoldstadt, St. Andrew's in Scotland, Poitiers, Glasgow, Gripeswalde in Pomerania, Pisa, Bourdeaux, Triers, Toledo, Upsal, Mentz, Copenhagen, founded in this century.	Cherefeddin Ali, a Persian Historian.
Charles Canutson 1471			Hermol. Barbarus. Michael of Milan.			Arabschah, an Arabian Historian.
An Interregnum until the year 1488			Stephen Brulefer. Cardinal Andr. du St. Sixte.			J. Whitehamsted.
John			Savanarola. Marcilius Fecinus.			Ulugbeg, a Tartar Prince.
Kings of Poland. Uladislaus. Jag. 1484			John Trithem.			J. Bracelli.
Uladislaus, king of Hungary 1444			John Picot of Miranda.		The first book printed with types of metal; which was the Vulgate Bible, published at Mentz in 1450; a second edition of the same book was published at Mentz in 1642, and has been mistaken for the first.	Palmieri.
An Interregnum of three years.			Ant. de Lebrixa.			Villon, otherwise Corbueil.
Casimir IV. 1492			Boussard.			Muller, surnamed Regiomontanus.
John Albert.			J. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio.			Calentius, a Latin Poet.
Kings of Portugal. John I. 1483			Jovianus Pontanus.			Dom. Calderini.
Edward 1483			Nicholas Simonis.			Barth. Fontius.
Alphonso V. 1481			Claude de Seyssel.			Enguerr. de Monstrelet.
John II. 1495			Simeon of Thessalonica.		The famous Pragmatic sanction established in France.	Andronicus of Thessalonica.
Emmanuel the Great.			Gobelinus Persona.			George of Tapesonde.
Ottoman Emperors.			Henry of Hestia.		The university of Caen in Normandy is founded by the English in the year 1437.	Fr. Philippi.
Bajazet taken prisoner by Tamerlane in 1402			George Phranza.			Alex. Imola.
Solyman 1410			Vincent Ferrieres.			J. Ant. Campani.
Mousa 1413			Julianus Cæsarius.			Nich. Perrotti.
			Nich. Tudeschus or Panoramus.			Th. Littleton.
						Ant. of Palermo.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog Writers	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
<p>Mahomet I. 1421</p> <p>Amurat II. 1451</p> <p>Mahomet II. who takes Constantinople in 1453 and dies in 1481</p> <p>Bajazet II.</p> <p>Czars or Emperors of Russia. There reigns in the Chronology of these princes an uncommon degree of confusion, suitable to the barbarism of that nation. In the year 1782, they began to publish at Petersburg a series of their sovereigns, beginning with Duke Ruricke, who is supposed to have reigned in the ninth century. From that time downwards, all is darkness and perplexity, until we come to the reign of</p>			<p>Raymond Sabund.</p> <p>Catherin of Bologn.</p> <p>Gregorius Melissen.</p> <p>Marcus Eugenius.</p> <p>Laurent. Justinian.</p> <p>Sylvester Syropul.</p> <p>Ambrose, General of the Camaldules.</p> <p>George Codinus.</p> <p>Onurph.</p> <p>Panvinius</p> <p>Gabriel Biel.</p> <p>John Nauclerus.</p> <p>John Nieder.</p>		<p>Maximilian divides the empire into six circles.</p>	<p>Constan</p> <p>Lascari</p> <p>A. Barba</p> <p>tius.</p> <p>Christ.</p> <p>Persona</p> <p>Bern. Jus</p> <p>tiniani.</p> <p>Dieb.</p> <p>Schilling</p> <p>Ralph</p> <p>Agricola</p> <p>J. Andræ</p> <p>Ermol.</p> <p>Barbaro</p> <p>Alex. ab.</p> <p>Alexan</p> <p>dro.</p> <p>G. Merula</p> <p>M. M.</p> <p>Boiardo.</p> <p>A. Manc</p> <p>nelli</p> <p>Rob. Ga</p> <p>guin.</p> <p>Bern Co</p> <p>rio.</p> <p>Gabr. Al</p> <p>tilius.</p> <p>Gul. Ca</p> <p>oursin.</p> <p>J. Nanni.</p> <p>Al. Ranuc</p> <p>cini.</p> <p>P. Crini</p> <p>tus</p> <p>Molines.</p> <p>Cettes.</p> <p>John Mur</p> <p>mellius.</p> <p>Mark Mu</p> <p>surus.</p> <p>Jason Ma</p> <p>inus</p> <p>Pandolph</p> <p>Collenu</p> <p>cio.</p> <p>R. Langi</p> <p>us.</p> <p>John Col</p> <p>let.</p> <p>Pietro Co</p> <p>simo.</p> <p>Abraham</p> <p>Zachut.</p>

Sover- eign Princes.	Pope ^s or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canter- bury.	Ecclesias- tical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remarkable Events,—Re- ligious Rites.	Profane Authors.
John Basi- lowitz I. who, in the fif- teenth century, shook off the yoke of the Tar- tars, and assumed first, the title of Czar, after having conquered the king- dom of Casan. We therefore begin with this Prince, and shall follow the Chronolo- gy observ- ed by the authors of the Mo- dern Uni- versal His- tory, in their His- tory of Russia. The Read- er may, however, consult the Tab- lettes Chronolo- giques de l'Histoire Univer- selle of LENG- LET, who places this Prince in the six- teenth century. John Basi- lowitz.						

CENTURY XVI.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors	Alexander VI. 1503	Henry Dean 1502	John Sleidan	Schweneckfeldt.	The Reformation is introduced into	British Authors.
A. D.	Pius III. 1503	1502	William Budæus.	Andr. Osiander.	Germany by	Sir Thos. More.
Maximilian I.	Julius II. 1513	W. Warham 1532	Desiderius Erasmus	Stancar. Adiaphorists.	Luther, in the year 1517; into	Thomas Linacre.
1519	1513	Thomas Cranmer 1555	Martin Luther.	Interimists.	France by Calvin about 1529; into Switzerland by Zuingli, in 1519.	S. Purchas.
Charles V. abdicates the empire in 1556 and dies in 1558	Leo X. 1521	Reginald Pole 1558	Ph. Melancthon.	Agricola of Isleben the chief of the Antinomians.	Henry VIII. of England, throws off the Papal yoke, and becomes supreme head of the church.	Thomas Elliot.
Ferdinand 1564	Adrian VI. 1523	Matthew Parker 1575	John Brennius.	George Major.	Edward VI. encourages the Reformation in England, and invites Martin Luther and other eminent divines over, to finish that glorious work.	Hect. Boetius.
Maximilian II 1576	Clement VII. 1534	Edmund Grindall 1583	Martin Bucer.	N. Amsdorff.	of the church.	J. Leland, the Antiquary.
Rodolphus.	Paul III. 1549	John Whitgift.	Ulric. Zuingle.	Synergists.	Edward VI. encourages the Reformation in England, and invites Martin Luther and other eminent divines over, to finish that glorious work.	Ed. Wotton.
Kings of Spain.	Julius III. 1555		Peter Galatin	M. Flacius.	The reign of Queen Mary, restores popery, and exhibits a scene of barbarity and persecution that shocks nature.	J. Christopherson.
Ferdinand V. surnamed the Catholic, king of Arragon, in consequence of his marriage with Isabella, becomes king of Castile; and the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile remain united.	Paul IV. 1559		Fr. Ximenes.	Crypto-Calvinists.	The name of Protestants given to the Reformed at the diet of Spire, in 1529.	Cuth. Tonstal.
Isabella dispossessed 1504	Pius V. 1566		Thomas More.	Anabaptists.	The league of Smalcald is formed in 1530.	R. Ascham.
Ferdinand 1516	Pius V. 1572		John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.	Mennonites.	The Reformation introduced into Scotland by John Knox, about the year 1560; and into Ireland by	J. Kaye.
	Gregory XIII. 1585		John Fisher.	Theoph. Paracelsus.		Thomas Smith.
	Sixtus V. 1590		John Oecolampadius.	David Georgius.		George Buchanan.
	Urban VII. 1590		And Carolstadt	Franc. Pucius.		Alex. Arbutnot.
	Gregory XIV. 1591		John Tilius.	Desid.		Sir Phil. Sidney.
	Innocent IX. 1592		James Faber.	Erasmus Agrippa.		John Fox.
	Clement VIII.		Matthew Flacius.	Cassander and Wicelius.		Fr. Walsingham.
			John Calvin.	Conr. Vorstius		Ed. Grant
			Martin Chemnitz.	Sam. Huberus.		Ed. Anderson.
			James Andreas.	Mich. Servetus.		John Dee.
			David Chytræus.	Valent. Gentilis.		Thomas Craig.
			William Farel.	Lælius Socinus.		G. Creighton.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Philip I. of Austria. 1506			Theodore Beza. Faustus Socinus.	Faustus Socinus.	George Brown, about the same time ;	Marot. Fr. Rabelais.
Jane 1516			Ben. Arias Montanus.	Quintin, the chief of the Libertines.	Into the United Provinces, about the year 1566.	Ja Dubois (Sylvius.) Pierre Gilles.
Charles I. or V. 1556			And. Oslander.		Gustavus Ericson introduces the Reformation into Sweden, by the ministry of	Or. Finee. Robert Stephens.
Philip II. 1598			Ægid. Hunnius.		Sweden, by the ministry of	P. Belon.
Philip III.			Melchior Canus.		Olaus Petri, in 1530.	William Morel.
N. B. Philip II. seizes upon Portugal, which remains in the possession of the Kings of Spain until the year 1640			Polyc. Lyserus.		It was received in Denmark, in 1521.	Adr. Turnebus.
Kings of France.			George Wicellus, George Cassander.		The Gospel is propagated by the papal missionaries in India, Japan, and China.	Ch. Du Moulin.
Lewis XII. 1515			Cardinal bellarm.		The order of the Jesuits is founded by Ignatius Loyola, in the year 1540.	Gilb. Cousin.
Francis I. 1547			Stella.		The famous council of Trent is assembled.	Mich. de l'Hopital.
Henry II. 1559			Crantxius Thomas Illyricus.		The Pragmatic Sanction is abrogated by Leo X. and the Concordate substituted into its place.	L. Le Roy (Regius.)
Francis II. 1560			Jacob Ben-Chaim, who gave an edition of the Hebrew Bible.		Pope Julius III. bestows the Cardinal's hat upon the keeper of his monkeys.	Hub. Languet, author of the Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.
Charles IX 1574			Sanderus.		The famous council of Trent is assembled.	Laur. Joubert.
Henry III. 1589			Isid. Clarius.		The Pragmatic Sanction is abrogated by Leo X. and the Concordate substituted into its place.	James Pelletier.
Henry IV.			John Major.		Pope Julius III. bestows the Cardinal's hat upon the keeper of his monkeys.	Fr. Belleforest.
Kings of England			Andrew Vega.		The inquisition is established at Rome by Paul IV.	M. A. Fr. Muret.
Henry VII. 1509			Franc. Vatable.		The war of the Peasants.	P. Ron-sard.
Henry VIII. 1547			Cardinal Sadolet.		The Universities of Wittenberg, Francfort on Oder, Alcala, Saragossa, Marpurg, Seville,	J. Dorat.
Edward VI. 1553			Cardinal Cortesius.			James Cujas.
Mary 1558			John Cochlaeus.			Fr. Hotman.
Elizabeth.			Alphons. Zamora.			James Amyot.
Kings of Scotland			Vivaldus.			Mich. de Montagne.
James IV. 1513			J. Almain.			Mich. de Castelnau.
James V. 1542			Spagnoli.			P. Pithou.
			Aug. Dathus.			J. Bodin.
			Pope Adrian VI.			Nic. Vignier.
			Petro de Monte.			Bl. de Vigenere.
						Henry Stephens.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Mary beheaded in 1587 Jaties VI.			Pope Leo X. Alb. Pig- hius. Henry VIII. king of England. Lewis Vives. S. Pigni- nus. Leon de Castro. Matth. Ugonius. Cardinal Cajetan. James Hoog- straat. Ambr. Cathari- ni. John Fa- ber. Ortuin Gratius. John Ec- kius. Leander Alberti. Nic. Ser- rarius. Pet. Cani- sius. Cæsar Ba- ronius. Fran. Ri- beria. Pierre Pi- thou. Mich. Baius. W. Alan, English Cardinal. Mercator Nic. Harps- field. Leuncla- vius. Molina. Salmeron. Maldonat. J. Natalis. J. P. Maf- fei. Cardinal Hosius.		Compostella, Oviedo, Grenade, Franeker, Strasbourg, Parma, Macerata, Tortosa, Coimbre, Coningsberg, Leyden, Florence, Rheims, Dillingen, Mexico, St. Domingo, Taragona, Helmstadt, Altorf, Paderborn, Siggen, founded in this century. The treaty of Passau, in 1552. The Paris massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day. The republic of the United Provinces formed by the Union of Utrecht. The edict of Nantz granted to the Protestants by Henry IV. of France.	J. de Serres (Seranus.) Cl. Fauchet. J. Passerat. J. J. Bois-sard. P. Daniel d'Orleans Francis Victé. Cardinal d'Ossat. Rob. Constantin. P. Morin. Jos. Just. Scaliger. Nic. Rapin. J. Papire-Masson. P. B. Brantôme. St. Pasquier. Italian Authors. Americ Vesputius. J. Jocondi of Verona, who discovered the Letters of Pliny. Leoncini, the translator of Galen. Pomponace. M. A. Casanova. P. Gravinna. Sannazarius. Machia-vel. Vida. J. A. Lascaris.
Kings of Sweden and Denmark. John 1518 Christiern II. deposed in 1522 Gustavus Ericson 1560 N. B. Sweden is separated from Denmark under this Prince. Eric deposed in 1568 John III. 1592 Sigismond, king of Poland, deposed in 1599 Charles IX.						
Kings of Denmark. Christiern II. deposed in 1522 Fredrick I. 1533 Christiern III. 1559 Frederic II. 1588 Christiern IV.						
Kings of Poland. John Albert 1501 Alexander 1506 Sigismund I. 1548						

Sovereign Princes	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Sigismund II 1572			Jasenius. John Tillet			Alcyonius, translator of Aristotle.
Henry of Anjou, until the year 1574			James Naclantus De Vargas.			Ariosto Burn. Maffei. Fr. Guicciardini.
Stephen Batori, 1587			Cardinal Seripand And. Masius.			Cardinal Bembo. Cardinal Sadolet.
Sigismond, king of Sweden.			Pope Paul IV. Widmanstadt.			And. Alciat. M. A. Flaminio d'Imola.
Kings of Portugal. Emanuel the Great 1521			Gassander Stapleton Merce rus			Lillius Giraldu. J. Fracastor. Polydor. Virgil.
John III. 1557			F. Xavier. Ign. Loyola.			M. A. Majoragio P. Aretin.
Sebastian 1578			Bishop Gardiner Jer. Oleaster, with many others too numerous to mention			J. de la Casa. L. Alamanni. N. Tartaglia. Palingenius. Jul. Cæsar Scalliger.
Henry Card. 1580			N. B. J. is remarkable that, among the Ecclesiastical Writers of this century, there are above 55 who employ their labours in the exposition and illustration of the Holy Scriptures; and this happy circumstance			Zanchius. Gab. Faerno. Gab. Fallopius. J. Acronius. Louis Cornaro. Robertello. Palearius. Onoph. Panvini
Ottoman Emperor Bajazet II 1512						Argentieri. J. Bar. de Vignole.
Selim I. 1520						Paul Manutius. Jerome Cardan.
Solyman II. 1566						A. Palladio. C. Sigonius.
Selim II 1574						P. Victorius. Oct. Ferrari.
Amurat III. 1595						James Zabarella. L. Guicciardini.
Mahomet III.						A. de Constantino.
Czars of Muscovy.						Torq. Tasso. Fr. Patrizi (Patritius.)
John Basilowitz 1505						Ant. Riccoboni.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Basilius Swano- witz, who re- ceives from Maximilian I the title of Emper- or 1533 John Basilowitz II. 1534 Theodore Iwano- witz 1597 Boris Ga- denow. Stadthol- ders of the Uni- ted Pro- vinces. William I. the glori- ous foun- der of their Liberty 1584 Maurice.			contribu- ted, no doubt, to prepare the minds of many for the REFOR- MATION, and thus rendered its prog- ress more rapid			G. Panciroli. And. Cesalpin. Natalis Comes. Aldovrandi. Gratiani. B. Guarini. Swiss Authors. Aur. Ph. Para- celsus. Theod. Bibli- ander. Theod. Zwin- ger. Isaac Casaubon German and Dutch Authors J. Reuchlin. P. Mosellan. M. Aurogal- lus, who as- sisted Luther in the transla- tion of the Bible. H. C. Agrippa. D. Erasmus of Rotterdam. Lucinius. Simon Gry- næus. Adr. Barland of Zealand. Nic Coperni- cus, a Prussian. J. Secundus of the Hague. J. Olaus Mag- nus. Peutinger. Paul Fagius. Sebastian Mun- ster. G. Agricola. John Sleidan. Gasp. Brus- chius. P. Lotichius. Conrad Gesner. G. Fabricius: A. Masius. Joach. Came- rarius.

Sover- eign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canter- bury.	Ecclesi- astical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remark- able E- vents, &c.	Profane Authors.
						Viglius of Zuichem. Hubert Golt- zius John Sturmius. J. Sambuc. A. G. Busbeq. J. Leunclavius. G. Mercator Læv. Torren- tius. Raphelingius. Ortelius. Tycho Brahe, a Dane. Heurnius of Utrecht. Nicholas Cragius of Copenhagen. Justus Lipsius, Paul Merula of Leyden. A. Gorlæus. Schouæus. Em. Van Me- teren. Dom. Baudius.

CENTURY XVII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors A.D.	Clement VIII.	Dr J. Whitgift	Protestant Writers.	The doctrine of the Jesuits, concerning philosophical and condemned by Pope Alexander VIII. in 1690.	The congregation De propaganda, &c. founded at Rome in 1622, by Pope Gregory XV. Christianity is propagated in the kingdoms of Siam, Tongking, and Kochinchina, by the Jesuit missionaries.	No century has been so fertile in authors as this before us. Their number amounts to above 850. We shall confine ourselves to those who were most eminent in each country.
Rodolphus II. 1612	Leo XI. 1605	D. R. Bancroft	Archbishop Abbot John Lightfoot	The probabilists (so the Jesuits were called from their odious doctrine of Probability) condemned by the Sorbonne.	The thirty years war breaks out, and was concluded by the peace of Westphalia.	In Great Britain & Ireland.
Matthias 1619	Paul V. 1621	Dr. Geor. Abbot	Matthew Pool.	The moors are driven out of Spain.	The Protestants are persecuted in France.	John Harrington.
Ferdinand II. 1637	Gregory XV. 1623	Dr. W. Laud	Bishop Pearson.	The Gunpowder Treason discovered in England.	The royal Society is founded in the year 1662.	James Harrington.
Leopold I. 1644	Urban VIII. 1644	Dr. W. Juxton	Bishop Fell.	A rupture between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians.	A jubilee is celebrated by Pope Clement VIII. in the year 1600.	J. Pitt.
Kings of Spain. Philip III. 1621	Innocent X. 1655	Dr. W. Sheldon	Gataker.	The Francis- cans are judged Heretics on account of their doctrine concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.	In 1605, Maurice Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, introduces the Reformed religion into Marburg.	R. Stanishurst.
Philip IV. 1665	Clement IX. 1669	Dr. John Sandcroft	Edward Pocock.	The Janseni- us, Quenel, and Arnould, as also Fenelon, Molinus, and the Pietists are condemned in France.	Paul V. excommunicates the Venetians, whose cause is	Sir Henry Saville.
(Portugal throws off the Spanish yoke. and recovers its independency, in the year 1640.)	Clement X. 1676	Dr. John Tillotson	Dr. Goodwin.			Thomas Hariot, the inventor of Algebra.
Charles II. 1700	Innocent XI. 1689	Dr. Thomas Tenison.	Dr. Man- ton.			W. Camden.
Kings of France. Henry IV. 1610	Alexander VIII. 1691		Richard Baxter.			Nicholas Fuller.
Lewis XIII. 1643	Innocent XII. 1700		Dr. Calamy.			Benjamin Johnson.
Lewis XIV.			Howe.			Shake- spear.
Kings of England. Elizabeth 1603			Bates.			Henry Wotton.
James I. VI. of Scotland, 1625			Bishop Bull.			
Charles I. beheaded in the year 1649			Grew.			
			Bishop Burnet.			
			J. Forbes.			
			J. Baxter.			
			John Tillotson,			
			Archb. of Canterbury.			
			Dr. Sherlock.			
			Archbishop Wake			
			Chillingworth.			
			Henry Hammond.			
			Thomas Hyde.			
			William Cave.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
Cromwell usurps the government, under the title of Lord Protector, and dies in 1658			Brian Walton.	Arminius, and his followers the Universalists, Bekker, the Cartesian Divines L' Abadie, Bourignon, Poiret, Lechoff, Deurhoff, and Claude Parnn, are regarded as Heretics by the Reformed churches in France and Holland.	defended by Fra. Paolo. In the year 1606, Rudolph II allows the Hungarians the free exercise of the Protestant religion, that has been formerly granted by Ferdinand I. and abolished by his successors.	English Seneca. Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Thomas Gataker. W. Habington. Archbishop Usher. V. Harvey, who first discovered the circulation of the blood.
Charles II. 1684			Dr. Cudworth. Ed. Stillingfleet. H. Prideaux.		In the year 1608, the Socinians published their Catechism at Cracow.	Sir Ken-Digby.
James II. abandons his kingdom in the year 1688, and dies in 1701			J. Locke. W. Lloyd Bishop of Worcester. J. Milton. St. Nye. Claude. Daille. Amyrout. Basnage, Samuel, & James Jurieu. Benoit. Turretin. Elias Sauren.		The Silesians, Moravians, and Bohemians, are allowed by Rudolph II. the free exercise of their religion, in the year 1609.	Sir James Ware. John Milton. Abraham Cowley. J. Ogilby. Lord
William III. and Mary 1694			Marus. Le Cene. Mesterzatz. Le Blanc. Arminius. Grntius. Episcopus. Curcelleus. Limborch. Sleidan. Cocceius. Voetius. Gnnar. Lud. Capell. S. Br-chart. Gerhardus. Hoe. Calixtus. G. and Fred. Hulseman.	The Independents, Antinomians, Ranters, and Quakers; and among the latter, Fox, Barclay, Keith, and Penn, are looked upon in the same light. Add to these Enthusiasts, and Fanatics of various kinds, such as Jacob Behmen, Valentine Weigelius Nic. Drabicius, Seidel. Stifelius, and the Rosecrusians.	The Protestants form a confederacy at Heilborn, in the year 1610; and the Roman Catholic form a league at Wartzburg in opposition to it.	Chancellor Clarendon. Matthew Hales. Fr. Glisson. Thomas Stanley. Joseph Glanvil.
Kings of Scotland. James VI. 1625					The Bohemians choose Frederic V. Elector Palatine, for their king, in order to maintain them in the free exercise of the Protestant religion—but Frederic is conquered, and they are forced to embrace popery.	Samuel Butler. Algernoon Sidney.
This Prince & his successors were kings both of England and Scotland so far down as the year 1707, when these kingdoms were united into one monarchy.						John Collins, Mathematician.
Kings of Sweden. Charles IX. 1611						Robert Morison.
Gustavus Adolphus 1632						William Dugdale.
Christina abdicates the crown						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events--Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
in 1654 and dies in 1689 Charles Gustavus. 1660 Charles XI. 1697 Charles XII.			Heilbronner. Hassenreffer. Thummius. The Oslanders. Musæus. —Hutter. Hunnius, Guy, and Nieh. The Mentzers. —Olearius's. Fred. Baldwin. Alb. Grawer The Carpzovius's. Tarnôvius, J. and Paul. John Asselman. Eilhart Lubert. The Lyzers. Michael Walter. Joach. Hildebrand. J. Val. Andreas Solomon Glassius. Ab Calovius. Theod. Hachspan. J. Hulseman. Jacob Weller. J. Conr. Danhaver J. G. Dorscæus. John Arndt. Martin Geyer. John Ad. Schertzer.		In 1625, the princes of Lower Saxony enter into a league with Christian IV. of Denmark, which concludes by the peace of Lubee. Ferdinand II. publishes, in 1629, an edict, ordering the Protestants to surrender and restore all the ecclesiastical domains and possessions of which they were become masters after the pacification of Passau. This edict is disobeyed. Gustavus Adolphus enters into Germany. The peace of Munster and Osnabrug concluded, by which the three Religions are tolerated in the empire. The synod of Dort assembled in the year 1618, and sits from the 1st of November till the 26th of April. Henry IV. of France is assassinated by Ravillac. This event exposes the Protestants to new persecutions. The edict of Nantz is perfidiously revoked by Lewis XIV.	Ralph Cudworth. J. Rushworth. Robert Boyle. John Locke. W. Molyneux. Sir W. Temple. Sir Paul Ricaut. H. Hody Bishop Beverege Sir Samuel Garth. Thomas Gale. John Phillips. Bishop Spratt. Thomas Dempster. John Fletcher. P. Massinger. Ed. Gunther. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. Thomas Ridley John Speed. John Donne Fr. Goodwin, the Annalist. Edward Coke. Thomas Randolph. Thomas Farnham
Kings of Denmark. Christiern IV. 1648 Frederic III. 1670 Christiern V. 1699 Frederic IV.						
Kings of Poland. Sigismond III. 1632 Uladislaus Sig. 1648 John Casimir 1669 Michael I. 1674 John Sobieski 1697 Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony.						
Kings of Portugal. John, Duke of Braganza, chosen king in 1640 dies in 1656 Alphonso VI. de-throned in 1667 Pedro II.						
Ottoman Emperors. Mahomet III. 1604						

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Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
witz 1688			Aguirre.		or rather the	nard, pro-
Stadtholders of the United Provinces.			Henry Noris.		Independents, flourish.	essor of Astron-
Maurice 1625			D' Ache-ry.		Charles II. restored, and with him episcopacy re-established.	omy.
Frederic Henry 1647			Mabillon.		The glorious Revolution renders memorable the year 1688.	Bishop Stillington.
William II. 1650			Hardouin.		The Protestants are oppressed and persecuted in many places.	William Somner.
The dignity of Stadtholder remains vacant during the space of 22 years.			Simon.		Several false Messiahs discovered, particularly Sabbati Levi, who, to avoid death, embraces Mahometanism.	John Dryden
			Ruinart.		The Universities of London, in Sweden, Giessen, Pampelune, Saltzbourg, Derpt in Livonia, Utrecht, Abo, Duisburgh, Kiel in Holstein, Inspruck, Bologna Hall. The Academies of inscriptions, &c. of Sciences, founded at Paris.	John Wallis.
			Montfaucon.			John Ray.
			Galloni.			D. Gregory.
			Schacchi.			M. Lister.
			Cornelius a Lapide.			Henry Dodwell
			Bonfrere.			N. Grew.
			Menard.			Sir H. Spelman,
			Segenot.			French Authors.
			Bernard.			J. Aug. De Thou.
			Lamy.			Pincau.
			Bollandus			Gillot.
			Henschen.			Mornac.
			Papebroch.			P. Matthieu.
			Perron.			Du Vair.
			Estius.			Fr. Pithou
			Launoy.			J. Barclai.
			Tillemont			Savaron.
			Godeau.			Pr. Jean-
			Albaspinæus.			nin.
			Richtieu.			Godefroi.
			Holstenius.			Bergier.
			Baluzius.			Le Mercier.
			Bona.			Boulanger.
			Huet.			Goulart.
			Bossuet.			Malherbe.
			Fenelon.			Marillac.
			Thiers.			N. and C.
			Du Pin.			Le Bois.
			Leo Allatius.			J. B. Le Mene-
			Zaccagni.			strier.
			Cotelier.			J. Bap-
			Filesac.			Duval.
			Visconti.			P. Haye
			Molina.			du Chas-
			Arriaga.			telet.
			Rigault.			
			Richer.			
			Pererius.			
			Mariana.			
			Fr. Pitheou.			
			Fr. de			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Arch-bishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
			<p>Sales. M. de Calasio. Lessius. Pineda. C. Janse- nius. Bentivoglio. Sponde. Bzovius. H. de Valois. P. de Mar- ca. Arnaud d'Andilly Du Cange. Pascal. Du Bou- lay. A Ar- naud. Vavas- seur. Neercas- sel. J Le Mai- tre de Sacy. Pagi. Lami Pezron. Gerberon. Quesnel. These are the most not- ed writers of the Ro- mish church during this cen- tury.</p>			<p>R. Des Cartes. N Fab. de Peiresc. Henr. Duc. de Rohan. De Mezi- riac. J. Bourde- lot. J Guthi- eres. And du Chesne. Louis Sa- vot. Val. Con- rart. Cardinal Richlieu. Roche- mallet. Philip Monet. Nicholas Bourbon. Augustus Galland. J. F. Nice- ron. Edm. Me- rille. Samuel Petit. M. Mer- senne. Voiture. De Vange- las. Ch. Justel. Did. He- rault. J. Baudoin. P. Du Puy. G. and Louis de St. Mar- the. Denis Petau.</p>

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
						G. Fournier. Cl. saumaisc. G. Naude. N. Rigault. De Balzac. G. B. de Gramont. Sarasin. D. Blondel. P. Gassendi. J. Bignon. C. H. Fabrot. L. Ch. Lc. Fevre. N. Perrot. D'Ablancourt. N. Sanson. Briet. Tan. Le Fevre. Fr. La Mothe Vayer. Moliere. G. M. le Jay. Roberval. Rohault. H. and Adr. de Valois. F. H. d'Aubignac. J. Esprit. L. Moreri. Duc de Rochefoucault. R. le Bossu. F. E. de Mezeray. P. Corneille. Ed. Mariotte. J. Spon. G. d'Estrades. Cn. Perault. P. Bayle. Vauban. Tournefort. Th. Corneille. Boileau. Ren Rapin. Jean Doujat. Fr. Bernier. Ch. du Fresne.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
						<p>Du Cange. Cl. Perrault. Is de Benserade. Thevenot. G. Menage. De St. Real. Pelisson. Bussy Rabutin. Ch. Patin. B. d'Herbelot. Cl Lancelot. St. Evremond. Amelot de la Houssaye. Louis Cousin. F. S. Regn. Des Marais. A Felebien. Jean de la Bruyere.</p> <p>Sim. Foucher. J. Domat J. B. Santeuil. G P. Richelet. P. J d'Orleans. J. Racine. J. Barbeyrac. Et. Morin. Baudrand. Segrais. Chevreau. Charpentier. Bohours. Marquis de l'Hopital. Vaillant. P Silv Regis. Theod. Agrip. d'Aubigne.</p> <p>Intalian Authors. Prosper Alpini. B. Baldi. J. A Magini. A Morosini. Luc. Valeri. Paul Beni. Davila. L. Pignoria. Salvador. Sanctorius. Thomas Campanella. Ale ander Donato. Mascardi. Galilei. Bentivoglio</p>

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
						Strozzi. Leon de Modena. Bonav. Cavalieri. Ev. Torricelli. J. V. Rossi. Fam. Strada. T. Galluzzi. Martini. Imperiali. Tomassini. Virgilius Malvezzi. Molinetti. Sert. Orsato. J. B. Nani. J. A. Borelli. Ricci. Oct Ferrari. Bartalocci. M. Malpighi. Bellori. Viviani. Bellini. Bocconi. Averani. Cassini. Magalotti. Spanish and Portuguese Authors. Cervantes. Anthony de Ledesma. J. Mariana, the Historian. Anthony Herrera, the Historian. Aldrete, the Antiquarian. Balbuena. J. L. de la Cerda. Lopez de Vega, the Spanish Homer. Nic. de Antonio. Balth. Gracian. Diego de Coutu. Jos. Taxeira. Rod Lobo. Eman Faria. del Souza. Ant Perez. Man Alvarez. Pegase. German, Dutch, Swiss, Swedish,

Sover- eign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canterbu- ry.	Ecclesias- tical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remark- able E- vents, &c.	Profane Authors.
						&c. Authors. Pauw, Anatomy. Aiguillon. Emmius. Gruterus. Bertius. Andr. Schott. Martinus. Snellius of Ley- den. James and Adrian Metius. Cunæus. J. Meursius. Lewis De Dieu. J. B. Van Hel- mont. Hugo Grotius. Erycius Pute- anus. Gasp. Barlæus. Van Hooft. Const. Impera- tor. Manasse Ben Israel. B. Varenius. Sanderus. Vandar Linden. J. Gollius. Atzema. Hoescheliuss. Ch. Helvicus. Melch. Adam. Cluverius. Hospinian. Rosinus. Buxtorf. Kepler. Goldast. Horstius. Sennert. Erasmus Schmidt. Alstedius. Pareus. Hoffman. Scioppius. G. J. Vossius. Gasp. Barthius. Freinshemius. Schrivelius. J. Gerard. Hornius. Etmuller. Olaus Rud- beck. Bartholin. Isaac Pontanus.

Sover- eign Prin- ces.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canterbu- ry.	Ecclesias- tical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or re- puted.	Remark- able E- vents, &c.	Profane Authors.
						<p>Chr. Longo- montanus. John Rhodius. Bangius. Meric Casau- bon Ad Olearius. J. F. Grono- vius. Renier Graaf. J. Swammer- dam. Fr. Junius. A. Maria Schu- lurman. Ath. Kircher. Conringius. N. Heinsius. Wicquefort. Noldius. Kunckel. H Meibomius. Ludolf. J. G. Grævius. Burch. de Volder. Olaus Wor- mius J. R. Wetstein of Basil. Varenius of Lunenburg. Thomasius. Dodonæus. Otto Guerick, inventor of the Air pump. Jos. Arndius. John Gasp. Suicer. Isaac Vossius. Olaus Borri- chius. D. G. Morhoff. G. Sagittarius. Sam. Puffen- dorff. Ch. C. Huygens J. Tollius. Eras. Bartholi- nus. J. Leusden of Utrecht. Wagenselius. Brockhuisen. Cellarius. Ezech. Span- heim. Gurtler of Basil.</p>

CENTURY XVIII.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, or Enemies of Revelation.	Remarkable Events—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
Emperors. A. D. Leopold 1705 Joseph 1711 Charles VI. 1742 The last Emperor of the House of Austria. Charles Albert of Bavaria 1745 Francis, Duke of Lorraine.	Clement XI. 1721 Innocent XIII. 1724 Benedict XIII. 1730 Clement XII. 1740 Benedict XIV. 1758 Clement XIII.	Dr. Thomas Tension 1715 Dr. William Wake 1736 Dr. J. Potter. Dr. Thomas as Her-ring. Dr. Thomas as Secker	N. B. In this list none but deceased authors are mentioned. Protestant Writers. Sir Isaac Newton. Dr. Richard Bentley. Bishop Hare. Bishop Cumberland. Bishop Atterbury. Dr. Samuel Clarke. Bishop Chandler. Bishop Berkley. Bishop Butler. Woolaston. Dr. Mill. Dr. Edwards. Dr. Whitby. Mr. Whiston. Abernethy. Dr. Bennet. Archbishop Wake. Bishop Smallridge. Sir Peter King, Lord Chancellor.	John Toland. Matthew Tyndal. Ant. Collins. Thomas Woolston. Ch. Blount. Tho. Morgan. John Chubb. John Mandeville. Lord Bolingbroke, and others, less worthy of notice. Among the sects of this century we may reckon on the Hernhutters or Moravian Brethren, and the followers of Whitfield, Wesley, and others of the same stamp.	The French missionaries make many converts to popery in the Eastern parts of the world, in Carnate, Madura, the coast of Malabar, China, &c. A great controversy occasioned by the indulgence of the Jesuits toward the Chinese, in allowing them to perform the religious rites of their ancestors. Protestant missionaries sent to India by the English, Dutch, and Danes. The bull Unigenitus issued out by Clement XI. in the year 1713, condemns the New-Testament of Quesnel, and produces violent debates & divisions in the Gallican church; more especially between the Jesuits the great defenders of the bull, and the Jansenists its opposers. The Jansenists endeavour to support their declining credit by the pretended and fictitious miracles that were said	Sir Isaac Newton. J. Flamstead. Dr. Samuel Clarke. Dr. R. Bentley. Dr. Hare. Joseph Addison. Alexander Pope. James Thomson. M. Prior. Sir R. Steele. Dr. Jonathan Swift. John Gay. Dr. John Arbuthnot. Dr. John Freind. Dr. Edm. Halley. Dr. Francis Hutcheson. Dr. Campbell. Mr. Balmguy. Mrs. Cockburn. Dr. Con-Middleton. Dr. Berkeley, Bp. of Cloyne. Lord Shaftesbury. Lord Bolingbroke.
Kings of Spain. Philip, who abdicates the crown in 1724 Lewis 1724 Philip reascends the throne in 1724 and dies in 1746 Ferdinand VI. 1759 Charles III. now reigning.						
Kings of France. Lewis XIV. 1715 Lewis XV. now reigning.						
Kings of England. William						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, &c.	Remarkable Events,—Religious Rites.	Profane Authors.
III. 1702 Anne 1714 George I. 1727 George II. 1760 George III.			Archbp. Potter. Derham. Dr. Hickes. Bishop Sherlock. Bishop Conybear. Bishop Benson. Dr. Ben- son. Dr. Pierce. Hallet. Dr. Foster. Grove. Dr. Watts. Dr. Dod- dridge. Dr. Tay- lor of Norwich. Bishop Squire. Dr. Sam- uel Chan- dler. Dr. John Leland. Witsius of Leyden. Trigland of Ley- den. Vitranga of Franc- fort. Morekius. Roel. Leydek- ker. Gurtler. Braunius. Hulssii. Pictet. Abbadie. J. Al. Tur- retin. Weren- fels. Ostervald. Jablonski. Strime- sius. Holzfus- sius. Meyer. Jurieu. Oudin.		to be wrought at the tomb of the Abbe Paris. The study of Philosophy is placed on a new footing in Ger- many by Leib- nitz and Wolf, and their meth- od of demon- stration is trans- ferred to the- ology by several divines. Christ. M. Pfaff, a very learned and re- spectable Lu- theran divine, forms a plan of reconciliation and union be- tween the Lu- theran and Reformed churches ; which bigotry and party spirit hinder from being brought into execution. Sacheverel, an incendiary, who inveighs against civil and religious liberty, is im- peached and censured. Lady Moyer, by her last will, founds a lec- ture, in which eight sermons are annually preached in de- fence of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Protes- tant religion and the bless- ings of civil liberty estab- lished in Great Britain and Ire- land, by the ac- cession of the house of Bruns-	Dr. Th. Burnet. Thomas Rowe. Elis. Sing- er. W. Wy- cherly. Lord So- mers. William Lloyd. John Hud- son. John and James Keil. Colin M'Lau- rin. Christo- Wren. Jer. Col- lier. Dr. John Taylor. Laurence Echard. Dr. J. Wood- ward. Thomas Hearne. Sir Hans Sloane. Dr. Mead. Martin Folkes. Rev. Ste- phen Hales. Thomas Simpson. Bishop Squire. Principal French Authors. M. Male- branche.
Kings of Sweden. Charles XII. 1718 Ulric Ele- onora 1751 Frederic of Hesse Cassel. 1751 Adolphus Frederic of Hol- stein, now reigning.						
Kings of Denmark Frederic IV. 1730 Christiern VI. 1746 Frederic V. now reigning.						
Kings of Poland. Frederic Augustus III. 1733 Stanislaus elected, without taking posses- sion. Stanislaus chosen a second time, but abdicates the crown. Frederic Augustus II. 1764 Stanislaus Count Ponia-						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heresies, &c.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
towsky.			Basnage.		wick Lunenburg to the throne.	B. Lami.
Kings of Portugal.			De la Placette.			Lemery.
Pedro II.			Martin.		William IV. raised to the stadtholdership of the United Provinces in the year 1747.	Fenelon.
1706			James Saurin.		An attempt made to assassinate Lewis XV. king of France, by a wretch called Damien, who is supposed to have been instigated by the Jesuits to this odious deed.	Jos. Sauveur.
John V.			De la Chapelle.		The order of the Jesuits is suppressed in France, their schools shut, and their revenues confiscated in the year 1764.	P. de la Hire.
1750			Maurice.		The same order suppressed in Portugal, and its members banished.	M. le Vassor.
Joseph, now reigning.			Pictet			J. Fr. Simon.
			Beausobre.			M. Felibien.
Sultans			Lenfant.			Is. de Larrey.
Mustapha II. 1703			Bouillier.			An. Dacier.
Achmet III. deposed in the year 1730			Spener.			The De L'Isle's.
Mahmout 1754			Pechtius.			Eus. Renaudot.
Osman II. 1757			Maier.			Tarteron.
Mustapha III. now reigning.			Masius.			Huet.
			Wandalinus.			J. Le Long.
			Luthenius.			Andrew Dacier.
Czars of Muscovy.			Wincler.			A. Boullainvilliers.
Alexio-witz 1715			Fabricius.			James Basnage.
Peter the Great 1725			Schmidius.			Louis and Jean Boivin.
Catharine 1727			Rechenbergius.			
Peter II. 1730			Ittigius.			Ch. de la Rue.
Anne 1740			Seeligmannus.			P. Rapin de Thoyras.
Ivan, or Jean, deposed in 1741			Loescherus.			J. and P. L. Savary.
and assassinated in 1764			Foertschius.			Louis de Sacy.
Elizabeth 1762			Buddeus.			Du Resnel.
Peter III. 1762			Antonius.			Nic. L. de la Caille.
Catharine his queen.			Frankius.			B. de la Monnoye.
			Langius.			Abbe Fraguier.
Stadtholders of the United Provinces.			Maius.			Gabriel Daniel.
William III. 1702			Pritius, and others.			G. J. du Verney.
This dig-			N. B.			
			The 20 writers last mentioned, beginning with Spener, are Lutherans.			
			Romish Writers.			
			Gonzales.			
			Beaugendre.			
			Papin.			
			Van Espen.			
			Fr. Lami.			
			Pouget.			

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, &c.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
nity remains vacant during the space of 45 years. William IV. 1751 William V.			Tomasi. Le. Br. Desmarts. Dez. D. de S. Marthe. Hyae Serri. G. Hel-yot. F. T. de Choisi. L. E. Dupin: J. Martiani. C. Hure. De Witte. Huet. L. Habert. Cl. Fleuri. Pope Clement XI. Eus. Renaudot. P. Constant. P. de la Broue. Ans. Banduri. J. J. Boileau. Marsollier. Garnier. J. Hardouin. Bellegrade. Masillon. G. Daniel. Houdry. Bianchini. Eehard. Anselme. Tourne- mine. Duguet. Longue- rue. M. Le Quien. J. Longue-			Valineourt. Geoffroi. De la Mothe. Joach. Le Grand. J. Franc. Felibien. Sanadon. Dumont. Vertot. Catrou. Beausobre. Nieeron. De la Barre. Melon. De la Croze. Vaniere. Montfaucon. Rollin. Abbe Longue- rue. Abbe Banier. Cardinal Polignae. J. Baptiste Rousseau. Abbe du Bos. P. Brumoy. L. Bourget. Abbe Bignon. Abbe de St. Pierre. J. B. Du Halde. G. H. Bougeant. Marquis de Puy Segur. Capperonier. Alph. des Vignoles. Abbe Desfontaines. Michael and Stephen Fourmont. Mongault. Bouhier. Le sage. Fr. de la Peyronie.
Kings of Prussia. Frederic I. first king of Prussia 1713 Frederic William 1740 Frederic III. now reigning.						
Kings of Sardinia. Victor, first king of Sardinia 1730 Charles Emanuel, now reigning.						

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, &c.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
			val. Orsini. J. Fr. Baltus. Vertot. Gibert. Boursier. Ed. Martene. C. de la Rue. Blondel. Montfaucon. Sabatier. Benoit. L. A. Muratori. Colbert. Languet. Dantine. Houtteville. Lengletdu Frenoy. Martin. Berruyer. DeCaylus. Bon Racine. Dom. Aug. Calmet. Benedict XIV. J. Le Boeus. R. Ceillier. P. Maran. Deschamps. Orsi.			Nicol. Freret. Bellanger. Gabriel Emilie du Chastelet. Destouches. Abbe Terasson. H. Fr. d'Aguesseau. Cl. Jos. Geoffroy. Gasp. de Real. Folard. De Boze. Mart. Bouquet. De Moivre. Lenglet. C. S. de Montesquieu. Cl. Joly de Fleury. James Cassini. C. Chen. du Marsais. Fontenelle. Bouiller. Castel. Peysonel. Reaumur. Le Monnier. L. Le Gendre. Goguet. Boguer. Maupertuis. Velly, the Historian. Abbe Salier. Charlevoix. Mascrier. Le Boeuf. M. Mirabeau. Le Brun. Morabin. Villaret. Clairaut. Caylus. Crevier. Italian Authors. Martin Poli. Ant. Magliabechi. Musitani. M. Battaglini. John Vincent Gravina.

Sovereign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Ecclesiastical and Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, &c.	Remarkable Events, &c.	Profane Authors.
						<p>J. M. Lancisi. Ph. Buonanni. Fr. Bianchini. Jer. Zanchelli. Just. Fontanini. P. A. Michaeli. Eustachio Manfredi. Ans. Banduri. Giannone. L. A. Muratori. Apostolo Zeno, Scipio Maffei. Cardinal Quirini. James Cassini. Buonamici Cardinal Passionei.</p> <p>Swiss Authors. Daniel Le Clerc. Em. Konig. J. J. Scheuchzer. James Hermann. J. Le Clerc. Wrenfels. J. Bernoulli. J. P. Crouzas.</p> <p>Burlamaqui.</p> <p>German Authors.</p> <p>G. W. Leibnitz. Christopher Wolf. Baron Krosig. Lud. Kuster. H de Coccei. B. Ziegenbalg. J. Mollerus. J. Andr�w Schmidt. Crenius. Thomasius. Gundling. T. F. Badd�us. J. G. Eccard. J. M. Lang. J. B. Mencke. J. Hubner. J. L. Mosheim. J. Alb. Tabricius. Gasp. Neuman. Christopher Wormius.</p>

Sover- eign Princes.	Popes or Bishops of Rome.	Archbish- ops of Canterbu- ry.	Ecclesias- tical & Theolog. Writers.	Heretics, real or reputed.	Remark- able E- vents, &c.	Profane Authors.
						<p>J. G. Heineccius. J. G. Keysler. P. Cantemir. Jordan. J. Offer, a Swede. J. H. Bohmer. Dopplemaier. Winslow.</p> <p>Dutch Authors. J. Perizonius. Cuper. J. Fred. Gronovius. S. Pitiscus.</p> <p>B. Niewentite.</p> <p>A. Reland.</p> <p>Salengre.</p> <p>G. Noodt.</p> <p>N. Hartsoeker.</p> <p>Adr. Helvetius.</p> <p>Herman Boerhaave.</p> <p>Albert Schul- tens.</p> <p>Peter Burman.</p> <p>Sig. Haver- camp.</p> <p>Bynkershoeck.</p> <p>S. Gravesande.</p> <p>J. Alberti.</p> <p>P. Muschen- broek.</p> <p>Wesseling.</p> <p>Gasp. Burnian.</p> <p>Tib. Hemster- huis.</p> <p>Van Loon, the Historian.</p>

ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER the foregoing sheets were printed off, I was favoured by the very worthy descendants of the pious and learned archbishop SHARP, with the present of a small but curious work lately published, which belongs to the ecclesiastical history of the xviiith century. It contains an *account* of the measures that were taken, and of the correspondence that was carried on in the year 1711, 1712, and 1713, for the introduction of the liturgy of the church of England into the kingdom of Prussia, and the electorate of Hanover. To this historical account are annexed several letters and original papers that are very interesting, more especially *a plan of ecclesiastical discipline and public worship*, drawn up by the learned Dr. JABLONSKY, and some other papers of the same author, concerning the nature of episcopacy, and the manner of rendering it compatible with the interests of the sovereign, and the religious liberty of the people.

This publication, which is chiefly designed for the use of the protestants in Prussia, is drawn from MS. memoirs of the life of archbishop SHARP, who was principally concerned in the transactions and correspondence above mentioned. These memoirs were composed from the archbishop's journal by his son, the learned Dr. THOMAS SHARP, archdeacon of Northumberland, and the historical account drawn from them, of the project for introducing episcopacy into Prussia, is published in a French translation, done by the Rev. Mr. MUYSSON, minister of the French chapel, at St. James's, &c.

The following note refers to Vol. II. p. 444, l. 23.

Dr. MOSHEIM does not pretend to determine whether these reports relative to the barbarity of the Jews were true or false; but it seems more than probable, that they were insidiously forged out of hatred against that unfortunate people. This will appear still more evidently to have been the case, when we consider that in the xiiith century, the popes GREGORY IX. and INNOCENT IV. published declarations, which were designed to destroy the effect of several calumnies that had been invented and dispersed to the disadvantage of the Jews; and in the xivth century we find the Roman pontiffs BENEDICT XII. and CLEMENT VI. giving the same proofs of their equity toward an injured people. We find in history circular letters of the dukes of Milan and Venice, and imperial edicts of FREDERIC III. and CHARLES V. to the same purpose; and all these circumstances render it highly credible, that the reports mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM are not founded on sufficient evidence.

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